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Volume 8

Number 3

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THE IMPACT OF WAR ON SOME COMMUNITIES IN THE SOUTHWEST*

E. D. TETREAU

University of Arizona

War has hit all communities but the impact differs with size. Smaller communities are most severely depleted of able bodied men, of doctors, nurses, and business services. Larger communities gain in members, high wages, excitement, fan-fare of drives, church support, and civilian defense organization. High schools in larger communities suffer the greatest losses in pupils; but all schools in small communities are depleted of ablest teachers. Esprit de corps is high in larger communities, but the will to win the war is most intense in remote and small communities.

THE PROBLEM at hand in this study was to make note of the impact of war on communities in the Southwest. This rather general task was narrowed down to a notation of certain changes in Arizona rural life since December 7, 1941, as observed in selected communities. While war has accentuated rather than initiated many changes, no effort was made to sharply distinguish those already under way in December 1941, from those of more recent origin. The hypothesis for this study is that *some changes appear in all communities but vary in their extent with the size of the community*, being more or less marked as one passes from the smaller to the larger communities. Other changes seem to reach into the larger and more urban communities, passing by the smaller rural communities with little or no impact upon them.

For purposes of a long time project on the structure of Arizona rural life, all population

centers of local importance are being studied with respect to their location, size, and services rendered for transportation and communication, banking, elementary and secondary education and organized religion. More than three hundred such centers have so far been included. This information, together with accessible data on irrigation, mining and ranching has made it possible to set up a classification of communities under the following categories: small irrigated farming, large irrigated farming, corporation irrigated farming, cattle ranching, small mining, large mining, lumbering, and urban retail-wholesale. This information has been useful in selecting communities for the special purpose of observing the impact of the war upon communities, large and small, throughout the Southwest. Selected communities from the several classifications were observed in the course of this study.

Communities differ a great deal as to the ways in which war has affected their population composition. Even in the latter part of 1940 and through 1941 the pull of man

* Prepared for the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December, 1942.

power away from Arizona communities hit the small irrigated farming and range communities harder than the large mining and retail-wholesale urban centers. The movement, moreover, during those months was total, in that the net effect upon the entire state was a loss in working population, part of which went to the Pacific coast to work in aircraft factories and part to training camps, both east and west. This movement out from the state took men in unequal proportions, the smaller farming and ranching communities losing most heavily.

After the declaration of war, camps, airfields and new industries and munition depots constructed in different parts of Arizona brought back many workers who had gone to the coast, and attracted additional workers from east and west. The flow of men to Arizona industries old and new was accentuated by the return of men to the copper mines, earlier drafted into the armed forces; while the location and construction of bases, camps, and training centers within the borders of the state greatly increased the population of armed men. Some rural communities, within short or fair distances of new factories, gained a new population of industrial workers, while civilians attached in one way or another to the military establishments added to the numbers of people who were new to Arizona communities. Urban communities, large mining communities, and some large rural communities had their total populations greatly increased—the earlier losses of men being more than balanced by incoming war industry workers and men in uniform. On the other hand smaller farming and ranching communities, already being rapidly stripped of large proportions of their able bodied workers, continued to supply men to the draft and to war industries. Few if any of the new comers were located within their borders. Thus, while the large communities lost many and regained more, the small communities lost men once and for all.

Obviously, this change in population composition has largely to do with men aged 20 to 38 in so far as the armed forces are concerned, and with men in the vigorous years of life as a supply of unskilled labor. All age

groups are involved in furnishing skilled workers to aircraft and other war materials factories.

The incoming of factory workers and of civilians accompanying the armed forces has meant the addition of families to communities and of children to the schools. The net effect has been to increase the enrollment of elementary schools in the larger communities but not of the high schools. The pull of the uniform and of well paid jobs continues to deplete the ranks of high school pupils.

Communities, again, differ roughly in correspondence with size with respect to the pull of war industries and other employment upon young people of high school age. In smaller communities the school staff has been able to increase the amount of personal supervision and contact with pupils. This has been done with the intent of filling in large gaps in school activities such as intercommunity competitive football and basketball. More social evenings are being slated and more teacher supervision of intra-mural contests has been necessary. The difficulties attendant to this kind of change in activities appear to increase with the size of community. This is due in part to the distracting influences of war-time activities which not only reach the pupils but seriously disturb the parents and upset their home life. More directly, however, the lure of wages and the many opportunities for employment in large communities have drawn young people from school into jobs. The high schools of urban and large rural communities have suffered most in the loss of older pupils to war factories and other employment.

It is noteworthy that significant changes are taking place in the age and sex composition of the teaching personnel. Younger male teachers are becoming very scarce and many younger female teachers are marrying or moving to industrial centers to obtain more remunerative employment. Older women, trained one or two decades ago, and long since separated from teaching experience, are being used as replacements. Problems of leadership, especially for the older boys, are intensified. This structural change in the population of school leaders affects not only

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the classroom work of the school but also the tempo of activities which reach out into the community. Accustomed competitive activities, such as inter-school athletics, are curtailed at a time when youth is under the stress of war conditions and keyed to require a faster pace in social life while anticipating the Spartan demands of service in the armed forces, and, just at this time youth is being deprived of many of its active younger teachers. This change seriously affects outlying rural communities and larger irrigated farming communities, each of which usually maintains a high school and one or more grammar schools. Mining and lumbering communities suffer too in this regard, and ranching communities, greatly. Difficulties of holding the better teachers and of obtaining replacements appear to increase with the remoteness and the decreasing size of the community.

Large rural and city communities are in many cases turning to curfew regulations in an attempt to impose more rigid direction over the behavior of youth of school age. In some communities old regulations are being resurrected, in others new ones are being enacted. On the whole, the overt evidences of a let-down in behavior are meagre but parents and authorities are uneasy, not so much because of what they know as what they fear. On the other hand, it is worthy of note that some young people in these communities sense the need for personal working codes of conduct that will be in harmony with the organized will of the larger community. Their influence lies in the direction of a self-determining, self-directing way of life for youth. Many a young man (and young woman, for that matter) has imposed a sterner schedule of action upon himself than he has ever thought of doing in peace time. These external regulations to impose control from without, and evidences of self-discipline appear side by side among youth in the larger rural communities and the cities.

Smaller communities are not so much concerned about regulating hours, perhaps largely because they have generally placed greater reliance than large communities upon beliefs, folkways, customs, and traditions in direct-

ing the behavior of their young people. Then, too, the mother in the rural family continues to be occupied with the care of the house, preparation of food, the cultivation of a garden, the tending of chickens, and keeping the family clothing clean and in good repair. These things she does anyway, and war time normally adds more of the same kind of responsibility, to be sure, but it does not shift her activities as drastically as factory employment does for the average city woman. In cities, unless great care is taken to continue the lines of parental contact with offspring, employment outside the home for mother, as well as father, robs the home environment of its steadying and sheltering influences.

Percentages of absence from school in some larger rural communities and in cities are significantly larger than they were a year ago. Problems of minor delinquencies and absence from school loom large in the face of teachers and parents. The pull of the dollar along with the tom-toms of drives and appeals are but the beginning of many claims that first draw the attention of parents from their immediate responsibilities. As emotions are repeatedly stirred by outside appeals to do the unaccustomed and apparently dramatic things, and as new desires are stimulated by a more than usual amount of ready cash to be spent, standards of traditional responsibility are lowered. Suddenly these have come to appear prosaic and out-of-step with the times. It is not difficult to find cases in which teachers, wrestling with an alarming record of absences, lower grades, and other evidences of lack of interest in pupil's school work, have found that the parents give lip service to education, and that when pressed on the matter of closer home co-operation, they take refuge in the fact that their children can get work at good wages, whether or not they have "an education." An easy way out of their responsibilities has been opened. If the children leave school, they can get a job and go out on their own.

Marriages, especially among young people of high school age, have increased in number. The greatest proportional increases have occurred in the large rural and city com-

munities. Fewer marriages in farming communities indicate the persistence of rural traditions regarding the accumulation of some property before setting up a household. High wages and war industry employment doubtless have some bearing on the increases in the total numbers of marriages and especially among youth under 21 years of age in the larger communities. Then, too, the close proximity of men in uniform has stimulated increases in cities and some larger rural communities. This condition has contributed to the shortages of housing facilities, the acuteness of these shortages roughly increasing with the size of the community. This increase in marriages seems likely to make for some increase in the divorce rate, the relation to size of community being similar to that of the number of marriages.

Business men in large rural communities and in cities report the largest total volume of sales (in dollars) in the history of their communities. However, the restrictions on food and other goods for the civilian population are reaching the larger places, having first stripped the shelves of small town stores. Probably the peak of volume of sales has passed for the towns and cities, the imposition of rationing in the control of all staple supplies already being under way.

Without question, home gardens, with poultry and even possibly cows, have become quite general in the larger towns and may be found in Class A residence districts in the cities. Some gaps in family provisions will thus be filled. Similar activities on commercial farms will doubtless increase. Subsistence farming will continue for many with surplus family labor being used on nearby commercial farms or in factories.

Money to pay old debts is now forthcoming. The intent to get out of debt is apparently strongest in small agricultural communities in which the smaller farming and business enterprises predominate. Debt to most people in small communities marks, among other things, a reaching out for land and equipment in former years in order to produce the commodities needed for living or to exchange for a living. Thus it threatens their living more dangerously than debt

against anticipated profits, salaries and wages, which play a more important part in the economic life of the population in larger communities. Without question, the exhortations of Mormon leaders greatly influence their people, many of whom are settled in small farming communities. But in comparing large and small communities within the Mormon constituency, it seems evident that those in larger communities see more advantage in certain kinds of debt than those in smaller communities, and hence seem more reluctant to follow the advice of their leaders.

War wages and income taxes tie together in the mind of the small man. With all of the official talk about everyone helping to pay for this war, the small man who has paid property taxes regularly through many years, sales taxes as others do, and, more recently, income taxes, believes that the income tax collectors are missing a very large share of the excessively high wages taken by labor during the past year. He thinks that this operates as a double menace to stabilization of prices. He sees the unions taking their slice of these wages to fill their coffers, to force wages still higher. He sees the unions escaping taxation. Also, he sees the remainder of the high wage being spent thus to force upward the level of the cost of living. Late in December a "bull-dozer operator," formerly a senior in a large town high school, came home for Christmas. One evening he borrowed money from an acquaintance to buy a package of Bull Durham. He had drawn pay through 1942 for 1000 hours of work at \$1.75 per hour. The small man's practical question is: "How can the government collect *his* income tax when he can't even pay for tobacco?" Then he adds, "But every one of us who made \$1700 last year pays income tax on top of the property taxes we have always paid." Involved arguments about who pays the taxes on small properties and farms do not help. The small man is convinced that in his kind of enterprise they come out of his pocket, not the other fellow's. It should be noted that the most realistic discussions of this subject occur in communities that are rather remote from the high wage industries and centers, or among per-

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sons who do not stand to lose or gain from high payrolls. Moreover, there is a pretty sound grasp of the need to tie high productivity to high wages if the war effort is to meet expectations. Also, farmers know from experience that high wages must generally be accompanied by high capital investment per laborer if the level of productivity is to be held high. Workers in larger industrial centers must base their experiences more upon specialization, hence achieve little general appreciation of the process of production as a whole.

Apparently associated with the spending of high wages is the fact that the per capita consumption of alcoholic liquors increases as one passes from small farming communities to larger rural communities, and to cities. The age composition of the population is doubtless also an important factor in this matter, as is also the efficiency of the distributing services of the liquor industry. Likewise, the shorter week in cities may be important.

Associated with the size of community is the length of the work day. Longer hours at lower pay are found in the small communities, while in city centers are found the shortest days and highest pay. When associated with equal quantities of capital and comparable management, this points to higher productivity per man in small communities.

Large commercial farmers, who constitute an important element in many of the large irrigated farming communities, are definitely concerned about governmental rulings regarding commodity prices, wage rates, seasonal labor, and other subjects affecting their enterprises. Like the small man, they are also concerned about high wages, high costs of living, and the incidence of income taxes. In addition, they are exceedingly sensitive to official as well as private accusations that place or attempt to place blame for rising costs of living upon the farmer. On the whole, they are successful operators, accustomed to the management of men and equipment. They are convinced that indecision, red tape, divided responsibility, and interdepartmental bickerings have cost the country many mil-

lions in terms of food that might have been produced in 1942, as well as essential fibers. The resulting lower morale among them affects large communities and nearby cities.

Closing of service stations and small stores, while now observable in cities, began to be evident in small remote communities by the midyear of 1942. Probably the size of business bore some relationship to the fact of survival, as well as the size of the community in which these enterprises were located. Distance from distributing centers as well as size of order increased the difficulties of small businessmen in outlying towns especially after the rationing of gasoline.

Loss of younger physicians, dentists, and nurses is noticeable everywhere. Replacements of these persons from higher age levels fail to meet the strenuous requirements of small mining and remote farming communities. Also, one of the greatest losses to the smaller communities comes through the curtailment of services in the larger rural centers and in cities. Normally the people of the smaller communities look to the county seats and nearby cities for specialized services such as surgery and hospitalization. With gas rationing the difficulties are increased although more than usual ability to pay now makes the demand for services great. The larger mining and lumbering communities suffer less in the curtailment of professional services because of the special provision of medical and hospital care for employees in the larger sawmills and mines. Ranching communities suffer much as do the farming communities.

Some reorganization of activities among clubs and agencies is taking place in the larger rural communities. Civilian defense, luncheon clubs, and chambers of commerce are fitting their schedules of meetings to the demands of reduced automobile travel. These organizations, often officered by a small number of individuals and with overlapping memberships, arrange meetings to fall on the same day. Lunch time is given over to the luncheon club, after which civilian defense takes over one week, and the chamber of commerce the next week. Practically all such clubs and agencies have pointed their activi-

ties so as to contribute to the war effort. Luncheon clubs hear a talk on blood banks, with appropriate displays in nicely labelled jars, as they are served their dessert.

The community's interest in the schooling of the children of the poor was stimulated during depression years by the realization that these children often lacked food and were on this account unable to make much progress in the classroom. The hot school lunch became a project in many a school, elementary and high, small and large. War has put this project on a self-supporting basis in many schools. Where in one elementary school some 350 children took hot lunch in 1935 and 1936 with some 150 in need, today about 400 take hot lunch with only now and then a child needing assistance, what with practically full employment and ready cash to pay with.

Evidences of increased interest in religion during the past year vary considerably from community to community. Small irrigated farming communities, where largely Mormon, report increased financial support with attendance maintained at customary levels. These communities have kept the level of church participation rather high throughout the years of depression and recovery so that increased interest is registered in terms of dollars and cents more than in attendance increases. Small communities, not Mormon, report some increases in attendance as well as in financial support, usually from previous low levels. Large irrigated farming communities and city communities report rather remarkable increases in church attendance and financial support. These seem to go beyond normal expectations as to what might be expected of increased population. Looking upon small rural, large rural, and urban communities, attendance and money received have increased most in urban communities, least in the small communities, and to a considerable extent in the communities of intermediate size. It would seem that these differences, roughly corresponding to the size of the community, are an indication that esprit de corps is more readily built up and maintained where numbers are larger, money more plentiful, and equipment more ade-

quate, than small communities can afford. As to the nature of personal interest in matters religious and as to convictions that control personal conduct, that is another matter, the content of which lies outside the scope of this study.

Other changes, to which space cannot here be given, include changes in the means of transportation and travel, changes in housing facilities, changes in local attitudes toward organized labor and governmental relations to labor, and changes in the work habits of the population.

Civilian defense activities have brought forward a rather sharp contrast between large and small communities. The large rural and city communities have given a great deal of time and attention to the organization of first aid, fire protection, police protection, etc., in order to meet emergencies. But here became evident the importance of numbers, equipment, and size in the matter of organized effort. While large communities, both farming and mining, took hold of the idea and went ahead, the small farming, ranching and mining communities were more informal, less aggressive, and in some ways less interested. To them much of the program was superficial.

By midyear 1942 several of Arizona's larger mining and rural communities decided that they must put some initiative into the program of defense organization. The miscellaneous dabbling of overhead agencies, failure to allocate responsibility, and the general ineptitude of linear procedures in handling community organization, contributed to this action. These communities took hold of the machinery that had been set up from overhead and fitted it together into a working local organization, with a definite allocation of responsibility upon local leaders. Thus the civilian setup was made to strengthen the community with respect to fire protection, police protection, and first aid.

Although lagging in their part in civilian defense, it is evident that *the smaller communities are not last in their demand for an aggressive all-out war effort*. The will to go through with it seems to depend not so much

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upon the more or less colorful adjuncts to war-time community effort, such as parades and rallies, as upon the dogged set of the common man upon his way of life, which he identifies with the American way of life, and upon the price he is paying to preserve it. While larger communities are doing a great deal by way of building up esprit de corps, to be seen in the increased use of rallies and other demonstrations, they also contain many large war industries which mean fat purses and time out to spend the extra cash. Parades and bond sales add to the appearance of high morale. There is much shadow as well as reality in these things. It is in the small communities that one finds the clearest evidence of an unbending will to win. Old men, fathers and mothers, wives and sweethearts in these small places live only for the day of the return of their men and they know that their men must win before they can come home. Also, in the small communities, the official telegram of notification comes home not only to the next of kin, but is shared by other relatives and neighbors. The impact of the casualty list is more direct and far reaching in the small community than in the large.

Supporting this evidence of an unflinching will to win is the solid fact that the males of 20 to 38 years in small communities are the most completely combed out. Both volunteers and inducted males of military age have gone out from smaller communities in larger percentages of all such men available than from city communities. Deferment for city men in war industry employment accounts in part for this but it seems true that deferment for other reasons appears more frequently in urban than rural communities.

Thus it is plain to an unbiased observer that *a sense of the utter need to win this war without regard to individual financial advantage (or political) appears to be most universally evident as the size of community decreases*. This is not and seems not to depend upon esprit de corps. It is rather dependent upon the informal organization of human endeavor that characterizes families and neighborhoods. It is the putting forth of the will to bring to a successful end the

struggle that is costing the blood of their sons and neighbor's sons.

In conclusion it seems clear that war has quickened the tempo of some activities and retarded others. The impact upon small and large communities is strikingly different. Population concentration in and around war factory centers is accompanied by high wages, high living and mediocre morale. Showy events indicative of esprit de corps are deceptive. They often disguise a more or less spongy organization of the will to win. Mightier than size and high wages must be seen the crucial importance of the price that is being paid by persons and families in terms of men of their own blood in the line of battle, and the basic determination that this price shall not be paid in vain.

It is believed that an unmeasured element of strength in the war effort would have been and may yet be won in the scattering of thousands of workers back into more remote areas to work in small factories as well as on farms, bringing them closer to the realities of the cost of war and removing them from the corrupting influences of political and labor bosses as well as from the superficial influences of the band wagons and fanfare of war time. Thus the temptations to prolong the war would be reduced; the closing of small business halted; the distribution of professional persons and services equalized; the costs of formal enforcements and regulation reduced; and regulation from above more sanely and critically accepted and endured as a condition of victory. The training of youth would take precedence over high pay, a short day and drink. Costs of war production would be reduced. Total government would have little chance of fastening itself upon the nation as a whole. The details of needed regulation would be accepted after deliberate and well measured discussion and evaluation. America would stand a better chance of winning the war at home, with well-knit communities in control rather than pressure groups. America might then deepen and enrich the soil in which the roots of democracy are nourished, while retaining the central strength of a republic.

THE OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF 1000 SELECTEES*

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One thousand selectees were studied whom the Army released in the fall of 1941. It was found that the Army's Classification System assigned many men to military duties where they could use their civilian skills but large numbers failed to be correctly assigned. The work histories of these men prior to induction were conspicuous for their lack of occupational, job and wage mobility. Many men, influenced by their Army experience and training, refused to return to their former jobs and occupations. This fact foreshadows great occupational and social unrest when peace comes.

IN WORLD WAR I the United States was an active belligerent for nineteen months. During this period we mobilized 4,000,000 men, sent 2,000,000 abroad, put 1,000,000 into the trenches. We suffered 300,000 casualties of whom 50,000 died. Yet World War I came and went without materially affecting our way of life. The war ended just as we were beginning to hit our stride and we were still close enough to our base to return to it in short order.

World War II is different. Long before December 7, 1941, its influence permeated many facets of our culture. As early as June 1940, Congress passed the Selective Service Act, a move without parallel in American history. The re-election of President Roosevelt for a third term upset a hallowed tradition. During 1941 large sections of American industry were "put through the hopper." All this happened before December 7!

We are still unable to appreciate the full impact of World War II on American institutions. That the war would leave its mark

upon us was clear, however, even prior to our active belligerency. The Selective Service System was a case in point. Not even in peace time is it possible to uproot millions of men from their jobs and communities, ship them to strange parts of the country, force them to live with new companions, and instruct them in new techniques, without affecting their way of thought and life. The Selective Service System, realizing the economic and social upheaval incident to compulsory military service, provided for a Re-employment Division, which it charged with the responsibility for assisting the readjustment of selectees upon their return to civilian life.

As part of a larger study in the Determinants of Occupational Choice and Adjustments, the writer, in the fall of 1941, sought permission from the Selective Service System to study a group of selectees who had recently been discharged from the Army. Provisional clearance was obtained three days after the United States declared war on the Axis powers.

The original focus of the research had been to trace the influence of Army training and experience upon the occupational choices and adjustments of selectees upon their return to civilian life. Our active belligerency enforced a change in plan. In the first place it meant that selectees would no longer be discharged and those who had been released would be recalled. Secondly, studies of the adjustment of selectees to civil life did not seem nearly so important as studies of their adjustment

* The basic research was carried on by Charlotte Abbott, Ethel L. Ginsburg, and Milton Lipton under my direction on a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Mr. Lipton was responsible for the statistical analysis. Acknowledgment is made to the Selective Service Headquarters for permission to undertake this study and to Selective Service System, New York, for its wholehearted co-operation. This paper was prepared for the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December, 1942.

to the Army. The new focus was the Army's classification system. To what extent did the Army make use of the educational and occupational experience of selectees in assigning them to military duties?

During the fall of 1941 approximately 10,000 men were released into New York City. Of this number more than 2000 sought help from the Re-employment Division, Selective Service Headquarters. Those who registered probably differed from those who did not. Had war not intervened, these differences could have been explored. In the absence of such a study the following hypothesis can be ventured: The men who sought help were composed of two groups—those who had no jobs to which to return; those who refused to return to their old jobs. In short, the registrants were composed of the more aggressive and the less aggressive, the more successful and the less successful.

Three classes of discharges could be distinguished: men over 28 years of age who availed themselves of the right to request discharges; men who had enlisted for one year and who had completed their term of service; men adjudged to be suffering physical, financial, or emotional hardship, by virtue of service in the Army.

Each man who registered with the Re-employment Division filled out a questionnaire on which he entered his educational, occupational, and Army experience. The questionnaire was well designed. There was sufficient space on a single sheet of paper for a man to list not only his formal and informal educational achievements, his complete job history, but also the highlights of his Army experience.

The questionnaires for the 945 men who resided in the boroughs of Bronx and Manhattan were tabulated and compared with the first 261 questionnaires of men from Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond. Since no significant difference between the two groups was found in age distribution, educational achievement, employment status at time of induction, and average earnings, the 945 selectees from the Bronx and Manhattan were considered representative of the entire 2000 registrants.

TOTAL SAMPLE: 945 SELECTEES

The entire sample was analyzed in terms of the following general characteristics:¹

1. Age distribution
2. Educational background
3. Occupational distribution
4. Employment status at the time of induction
5. Average income prior to induction

About one-fifth of the sample was composed of men below 28 years of age; the remainder, with a few exceptions, were between 28 and 38. The exact age distribution follows:

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL SAMPLE: 945 MEN*

Age	Number
To 20	19
21	16
22	46
23	38
24	29
25	29
26	20
27	14
28	79
29	123
30	90
31	85
32	82
33	84
34	77
35	52
36	48
37 plus	12
Unknown (above 38)	2
	945

* There were 124 Negroes in the sample, all however, in the age group 28 and above.

Nine hundred and twenty men reported their educational background. Approximately one-third did not go beyond grammar school; another third attended high school but failed to graduate. Of the third who graduated from high school only half went on to college and of this group only two-fifths graduated.

¹ The discharges who had been drafted were not a typical cross-section of men in draft ages. The very fact that they were among the first to be called proved that they had no grounds for deferment, either on the basis of occupation or dependency.

The following table summarizes the educational background of the 920 men:

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

	Grammar School	H. S. Attended	H. S. Grad.	College Attended	College Grad.
Number	296	321	147	96	60
Percent	32	35	16	10	7
Cumulative Percent ..	32	67	83	93	100

The occupational distribution of the men discloses that 35 percent were unskilled; 40 percent semi-skilled; 8 percent skilled; 4 percent professional; the remaining 13 percent were found in the arts, trades, and miscellaneous. The detailed occupational distribution follows:

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL
SAMPLE: 945 MEN

Unskilled	
Office Workers	12
Bldg. Service Employees	39
Messengers & Deliverymen	10
Ship., Rec., Stock Clerks	49
Laborers	80
Salesmen	22
Restaurant Workers	24
Factory Workers	28
Drivers	21
Miscellaneous Workers	42
	327
Semi-Skilled	
Clerical Workers	46
Mech. & Electr.	63
Salesmen	33
Bldg. & Constr. Workers	30
Restaurant Workers	30
Drivers & Routemen	60
Factory Workers	25
Garment Ind. Workers	18
Bldg. Maint. Workers	13
Workers (Miscellaneous)	68
	386
Skilled	
Mech. & Electr.	23
Clerical	19
Bldg. & Constr. Workers	18
Garment Ind. Employees	5
Skilled Workers	14
	79
Other	
Professionals	40
Men in the Arts	23

Misc. Tradesmen	12
Men with Own Business	11
Managers	15
Refugees	9
"School to Army"	13
"No Work History"	30
	153

About 335 men, or 35 percent of the entire sample, were unemployed at the time of their induction. This figure may be high for in 67 cases, approximately 7 percent, the evidence was not conclusive. In addition, 41 men, or 5 percent, were on work relief—WPA, NYA, CCC, immediately prior to their induction.

There is reason to break the sample of the 945 men into two groups: those above and those below 28. When this is done one finds that unemployment was particularly marked in the younger age group, for more than 50 percent of the men under 28 were unemployed at the time of their induction; this was true for only 35 percent of the older workers. There were further differences between the two groups: a larger percentage of the younger men attended and graduated from high school. There was a higher percentage of youngsters to be found among the unskilled workers and there were almost no young men in the professional category. The average income of the younger men who had been employed at the time of their induction totaled \$23.00 weekly (standard deviation \$8.00), while the older men earned approximately \$27.50 (standard deviation \$11.00).

Additional differences were uncovered: 90 percent of the younger men volunteered and served a full year before being released. On the other hand 86 percent of the older group were drafted. Most older men were released before completing a year's service: 30 percent had less than six months in the Army, 73 percent less than 9 months. At the time of their release almost 60 percent of the younger men were privates first class, corporals or sergeants, while this was true for only 35 percent of the older men. A major explanation for this difference is to be found in the longer period of service of the younger group.

Because of these and other differences between the two age groups it appeared advisable to limit the detailed analysis of the occupational pattern—pre-Army, Army, post-Army, to the group 28 and above, which accounted for 734 men. However, adequate records were available for only 613 men.

THE AGE GROUP 28 AND ABOVE:
613 USABLE CASES²

Each man was classified on the basis of his work history as detailed in the questionnaire. A man was assigned to that classification which corresponded with his highest skill, provided that the larger part of his employment experience had not been limited to work of lesser skill or that his most skilled job was not so early in his work history that he could no longer be presumed to possess the skill. The criteria of classification were not completely objective. The fact, however, that three investigators, with differing backgrounds, collaborated in the task of classification, reduced the subjectivity of the procedure.

The 613 men in the age group 28 and above for whom adequate records were available were classified in terms of their pre-Army occupational experience as follows:

Unskilled	230
Semi-Skilled	314
Skilled	69

The unskilled included common laborers, building service employees, shipping clerks, factory workers, restaurant employees. The semi-skilled were represented by mechanical and electrical workers, construction workers, clerical, sales, and factory workers, salesmen, chauffeur-mechanics. The skilled were largely mechanical and electrical workers, construction workers, and white collar workers. There was no correlation between age and skill. The median age of the entire group was 32.

The following table details the educational achievements of the unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers:

	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
Grammar School	117	104	13
High School Attendance	75	113	15
High School Graduation	16	48	10
College Attendance	7	29	24
College Graduation	2	9	6
Missing	13	11	1
	230	314	69

An inspection of this table discloses that there are significant differences among the three groups as regards both positive and negative correlations. This is brought out clearly in the following table:

CORRELATION OF EDUCATION WITH SKILL

r*	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
-	20	28	1
§	192	198	20
†	5	62	23
‡	—	3	16
	217	291	60

* Scale

- Conspicuous failure to make use of education in work

§ Hardly any relation between schooling and work

† Specific relation of schooling to work

‡ Job directly related to prior schooling

That the skilled group suffered less from unemployment than either the semi-skilled or unskilled is illustrated by the following table:

UNEMPLOYMENT AT TIME OF INDUCTION

	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
Less than 1 month	2	4	2
1-5 months	13	21	4
6-11 months	7	7	1
Unknown no. of months ..	12	22	1
1-2 years	18	25	—
More than 2 years	23	14	1
	—	—	—
Subtotal	75	93	9
Probably unemployed	22	22	7
	—	—	—
Total	97	115	16

² Because of shortcomings in the data, samples of less than 613 had to be used in certain instances.

The occupational pattern of the group prior to its induction into the Army can be

more clearly discerned by studying measures of occupational and job mobility. Because of insufficient data, approximately 30 percent of the cases had to be discarded.

The following scale was established for occupational mobility:

- Training for a skilled but employment in an unskilled occupation
- § No mobility between occupations requiring skill
- † Mobility between two occupations requiring skill
- ‡ Mobility between more than two occupations requiring skill

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY			
r	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
-		2	3
§	142	134	36
†	3	87	11
‡		1	2
	145	224	52

The following scale was established for job mobility:

- ** Job tenure more than 10 years
- Either work experience limited to only one job of 5 years' duration, or tenure of at least 7 years in one particular job
- § Job tenure between 18 months and 5 years
- † Job tenure of less than 18 months
- ‡ Shifting of jobs every few months

JOB MOBILITY			
r	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
**	2	1	3
-	12	11	5
§	107	170	37
†	22	38	6
‡	2	4	1
	145	224	52

A revealing finding is the absence of either occupational or job mobility. Apparently there were no significant differences between the semi-skilled and skilled as to occupational mobility, and the same holds for job mobility.

In order to discover whether there was any wage mobility, the percentage change in earnings from the first, through intermediate, to the last job was computed for each case. Wage mobility was found to be conspicuously absent. In no class—unskilled, semi-

skilled, or skilled—did 10 percent of the cases show as much as a 50 percent change from first to last job; nor did 10 percent of the cases show as much as a 10 percent rate of change in annual wages.

These were the men the Army had to turn into soldiers. Many had little to offer, either in terms of educational achievements or work experience, but many others had the kind of schooling or occupational background that the Army needed.

How efficient was the Army in assigning these men to military duties? Did the Army take account of their work experience? The following table gives some indication of what the Army did:

CORRELATION OF WORK HISTORY WITH ARMY DUTIES

r	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
-	8	18	6
§	66	77	17
†	33*	112*	27
	107	207	50

* 11 percent represents correlation with education or job other than principal civilian work.

From the foregoing table one learns that the correlation of Army duties to work history tends to increase with the level of skill of the men. The following sub-groups received the largest number of assignments to Army duties paralleling their civilian work:

ARMY ASSIGNMENTS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP			
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
Restaurant		"Mechanical . . ."	"Mechanical . . ."
Office		Clerical	Clerical
Drivers		Drivers	
		Restaurant	

One would hardly expect the Army to be able to assign a violinist, a salesman, an elevator operator to military duties which paralleled their civilian work. However, one would expect men with mechanical skills to be assigned to parallel work, especially when the Army was short of these skills. One finds, however, that 33 percent of the skilled mechanical and electrical workers and 66 percent of the skilled building and construction workers were assigned to Army duties different from their civilian work. Moreover, a third of the skilled clerical workers and half of the unclassified skilled workers failed to

receive assignments which took cognizance of their prior work experience.

The following table summarizes the percentage of semi-skilled men who failed to receive military assignments closely related to their prior work experience:

Semi-skilled	Percentage
Salesmen	100
Factory Workers	80
Building and Construction	60
Unclassified	55
Mechanical and Electrical	40
Drivers and Routemen	33
Clerical	30
Restaurant Workers	25

The classification system worked very well in the case of men with professional training and chauffeur-mechanics; it worked moderately well for skilled and semi-skilled clerical, mechanical, and electrical workers. When one remembers what the Army was up against in 1940 and early 1941—units had to be formed rapidly which meant that men with specialized skills could not be kept in "pools" until requisitioned; personnel working on classification was new; the limited capacity of reception centers placed a premium on speed of processing—one might conclude that the system, despite its proved shortcomings, performed well. And no system in the world could have changed the simple fact that approximately one-third of the men had no real skills to offer the Army!

The influence of a man's educational and occupational background on his status in the Army is further developed by the following table which discloses the grades achieved by men of varying skills:

Grade	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
Private	131	132	33
Private First Class ..	32	62	16
Corporal	11	22	7
Sergeant	5	8	—
	179	224	56

Clearly a larger percentage of men in the semi-skilled and skilled groups rose in grade than was true of men in the unskilled group. Among the semi-skilled and skilled workers who rose in grade, the largest number came from the mechanical, electrical, construction, truck driving, restaurant and clerical trades.

It must be recalled that education and civilian skill were positively correlated which means that the better educated rose in grade more rapidly. All but 23 of the 86 semi-skilled men who graduated from high school rose in grade. As far as the skilled group is concerned only 16 of the 40 men who possessed a high school diploma failed to rise in grade.

We have seen the use which the Army made of the educational and occupational background of these men. We must now review the use to which these men put the training and experience they received in the Army. It is important to recall that more than two-thirds of the men were in the Army for at least seven months, long enough to have completed their basic training and to have had the opportunity for more advanced instruction, tactical and technical. The following table summarizes the correlation between a man's work history prior to induction and his occupational objectives upon his return to civil life:

r	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
—	16	21	2
\$	103	97	7
†	101	176	59
	220	294	68

As far as the skilled workers are concerned their time in the Army had little influence on their occupational objectives. They were willing to return to the jobs they held prior to induction. Of all the skilled "mechanical and electrical," "clerical" and "building trades" workers only 2 evidenced a desire to change their work.

The following table summarizes the attitudes of the semi-skilled group:

Occupation	No. of Cases	No. with "Positive" Correlation
Mechanical, etc.	40	33
Drivers	51	37
Building Trades	24	16
Clerical	31	20
Miscellaneous	82	43
Restaurant	25	11
Sales	24	10
Factory	17	6

More than half of the semi-skilled workers

were willing to return to their former trades but a sizeable number were on the lookout for new openings. Their experience in the Army made them reluctant to return to their former employment. Only a minority of the unskilled were willing to return to their former work. In fact, laborers were the only sizeable group of unskilled workers who came out of the Army with the same occupational orientation they had when they went in.

More than half of the skilled and semi-skilled and about one-third of the unskilled workers sought employment in fields closely correlated with their Army duties. This is brought out clearly in the following table:

r	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
-	7	15	1
\$	57	75	12
†	32	92	26
	96	182	39

An appreciable number of the unskilled men sought work at trades for which they had been trained while in the Army. Some had been taught carpentry, others sheet metal work, still others cooking. Upon their release they sought to capitalize on these new skills.

One of the most interesting findings is a comparison between the wages desired by these men upon their release and the wages which they had earned at the time of induction. It is important to recall that although New York City and environs could not match the defense boom in other areas, employment conditions had improved during the period when these men were in the Army. However, the following table discloses that only a small percentage of the skilled and semi-skilled men sought higher wages than they had previously earned. Only in the unskilled did one find a substantial group intent upon wage increases. The following table summarizes the wage desires of the three groups:

	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
+ 100	8	2	
+ 50 to + 99	17 42%	8 27%	1 17%
+ 1 to + 49	40	50	7
Equal	63 40%	86 39%	20 43%

- 1 to - 49	27	70	19
- 50 to - 99	1	7	
	156	223	47

Although these men had been away from home for a considerable number of months, many in unfamiliar parts of the country, the majority were willing to accept employment outside of the New York area. Only 20 percent insisted upon finding work in New York or vicinity.

Attention must also be called to the fact that as many as 60 percent of the men, despite their recent release from the discipline of Army life, were willing to submit themselves anew to routine instruction because they desired to improve their skills. Nor was the submission to discipline the only drawback to a man who sought training. He had to be satisfied with a minimum income during the period when he was a learner. Despite these drawbacks many unskilled and semi-skilled men evidenced a desire for training.

This effort to improve themselves by acquiring a skill, or by perfecting skills which they already had, was doubtless stimulated by their military experience. In the Army many rewards went to men who knew how to do things, and much effort was placed upon teaching those who did not know so that they could overcome their handicaps. It is worth noting, however, that a considerable number of men in the unskilled group, despite the early termination of their formal education, had made efforts in the past to secure vocational training but had been forced to interrupt their studies. It is probable that this interrupted training had long rankled these men.

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

The study of this New York group of inductees throws considerable light, not only on the characteristics of a substantial cross-section of the American urban population on the eve of World War II, but also reflects what this country will be up against if it is to win victory at home as well as on the battlefield.

It is a well-known fact that New York

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City has developed one of the finest systems of public education, yet it must not be overlooked that approximately one-third of the selectees did not go beyond grammar school and another third failed to graduate from high school. Too little book-learning is dangerous in a complicated democracy like ours where intelligent decision making is scarcely possible without a minimum of factual knowledge and analytic training. Many of our men, in fact most of them, lack this minimum.

Equally disturbing is the finding that 35 percent were unskilled and 40 percent were semi-skilled. Clearly, not everyone can be a professional man or a highly trained technician. But there is good reason to believe with Adam Smith that the wealth of a nation is largely a function of the quality of its laboring population. The sample disclosed that our quality was, at best, only fair.

Nor can one lightly gloss over the finding that more than 300 men—in excess of 30 percent—were unemployed at the time of their induction. Clearly, a society which keeps men in idleness for longer or shorter spells, is a society in need of radical improvement. Attention must also be directed to the finding that those men who were lucky enough to have a job were scarcely earning an adequate wage. A single man can live on \$25.00 a week, but one cannot look with equanimity on a society in which a man must support a wife and children on \$25.00 weekly.

Little education, the absence of skill, widespread unemployment, and low earnings are not uncorrelated factors. They form a web, and the major thread is the low level of education, both formal and technical. To repeat: a country is as rich as the quality of its labor.

New York City was the back-drop for Horace Greeley's famous dictum "Go west, young man"; and it was in New York City that Horatio Alger penned his exciting stories of the careers of poor boys who became millionaires. There was little, however, in the study of the thousand selectees from New York City that reminded one either of Greeley or Alger. Just the reverse: conspicuous

was the limited degree of occupational, job and wage mobility among this group.

These findings, one and all, relate to the United States when it was still substantially free from the influences of World War II. This United States has passed into history. No one can foretell the United States of the future, but there are suggestions in this study worthy of consideration just because we are so completely in the dark.

One of these days, not ten thousand, not hundreds of thousands, but millions of men will be released from the Army, men who not only went through basic and advanced training, but men who saw action at the front. It is important for us to remember that the men who will come back will not be the same men who went in. It is difficult to say how different they will be, but if our study is any indication, they will be very different. Not one of our men saw action against the enemy, not one was separated from home and occupation for more than a year. Yet the time they spent in the Army left an impress so deep that they wanted to find a new place for themselves in this world. To this end, many sought to change their line of work. The stock clerk who had learned to drive a tank could no longer see himself sorting boxes for eight hours a day. These men were not interested primarily in money. Rather, they sought more meaningful work, and they were willing to make sacrifices to gain their objective. They would submit themselves to training and they would uproot themselves—they would do one or both—if such action promised them the satisfactions they sought.

We are a people of violent moods. This is true both of our expansions and depressions. For a decade and more, prior to World War II, we were in the doldrums. But we have lived through other decades which have been marked by the most intense activity. When peace comes we shall probably enter into a cycle of expansion. But unless this cycle is to end as all others, we must think and plan and act. The wastes of war are difficult to avoid, but we have no right to countenance the wastes of peace.

ACCULTURATION OF AN ARAB-SYRIAN COMMUNITY IN THE DEEP SOUTH*

AFIF I. TANNOUS

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The data observed seem to point out the following main factors in the process of acculturation as applies to the community studied: (1) The minority status of an immigrant group. (2) Intensity of loyalty to the previous culture. (3) Emotional content of the various trait-complexes of the changing culture. (4) Degree to which an original trait-complex sets the group apart from the majority. (5) The role played by a leader, or an ambitious individual, or a frustrated personality.

METHOD AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

DUE TO THE fact that studies in acculturation are still in the pioneer stage, a word about the method used in this study should not be superfluous. Participant observation was the main technique employed in gathering information. Before coming to this country, the writer grew up on the slopes of the Lebanon mountains, a member of the same Arab-Syrian village culture from which the community under study originated. About three years ago, after having spent a few years within the American culture, he went back to his area of origin and made an intensive study of one of its villages. With that background, as a participant in the old culture and as a student of its organization and development, he approached the present study.

The same technique of participant observation was used by the writer while making the study. He made four visits to the community, of three, eight, two, and three weeks respectively. During these visits, he fully participated in the various life activities of the group: recreation, invitations, visits, festivals, parties, business, worship, and gossip. Through his two cousins and other relatives, who belong to the community, he was readily given the status of an insider.

Aside from general participation and the resultant observation, interviews were the

main source of information. At least one member of nearly every one of the seventy-two households was interviewed casually. However, intensive interviewing was applied in the case of eleven key and representative individuals. During these interviews Arabic (the original language of the group) was used with the old-timers and English with the younger members.

In concluding this brief methodological sketch, the writer wishes to express his strong belief that in acculturation studies the most essential equipment is a thorough knowledge of the mother tongue of the group studied. Members of such a group (the immigrant generation) may know how to express themselves in English, but such an expression is very often a distortion of what they really want to say. In listening to their conversation, observing their behavior, or interviewing them, the writer was struck by the inadequacy of an adopted tongue to reveal the cultural background of an immigrant group and their intimate experiences of adjustment to an adopted culture.

The purpose of the study has been twofold: (1) To make an empirical record, as exhaustive as possible, of the extent and manner of acculturation achieved by an immigrant minority group within the American culture. This should be of value as an addition to the relatively scanty information that is now available in this field, and as a guide, in applied anthropology and sociology, to the understanding of such minority groups. (2) To draw from the empirical data some tentative conclusions which may throw some

*The completion of this study has been made possible by a generous grant-in-aid from the American Council of Learned Societies. It was prepared for the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December, 1942.

light upon the general principles already maintained in connection with the process of acculturation.

THE ORIGINAL CULTURE¹

Between 1885 and 1890 the village people of Lebanon and Syria discovered America; North and South. They began to emigrate, slowly at first, then in rapidly increasing numbers. By 1925 practically every household in every village of the Lebanon mountains had one or more of its members as permanent emigrants living in one of the American countries.² Some of them established themselves in the deep South of the U.S.A. and developed into the community under consideration. All of these came from one contiguous locality on the western slopes of the Lebanons, and most of them came from three village communities—Bishmizzeen, Minsif and Gharzooz. They constituted a very homogeneous cultural group, and as such made their adjustments to their adopted culture. A brief description of their cultural background follows. It must be kept in mind that the description attempts to recapture their cultural background as it existed when the bulk of them emigrated, between 1900 and 1914.³

The economic organization of the Lebanon village was very simple and harmoniously integrated with other aspects of community life. Land was of supreme value to them, and farming was their occupation, their way of life. Attachment to the soil and locality was very striking. The same family line lived on

the same land for generations. Their economy was self-sufficient, practically producing all that they consumed. Informal co-operation prevailed in the economic activity. The great majority of the villages in that locality belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. Each village had but one church, and everybody belonged to it. No case of changing religious allegiance had been reported, although Muslims and Maronites (Catholic sect) had been living in the same area. Like their economic system, the church was fully integrated with other aspects of community life. Family was the third main pillar of life in those villages. The biological family unit was not of much importance. What was of paramount significance was the joint family, consisting of the grandparents, their unmarried daughters and sons, their married sons with their wives and the children of these. The unit was stable and highly integrated, whose members owned the land in common, cultivated it co-operatively and shared equally in its produce. A more comprehensive unit than the family and the church was the village. Community consciousness was intense and loyalty to that unit was very strong. The village was compact and integrated, physically and psycho-socially.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

Population aspects. The group consists of 366 people, 181 males and 185 females. This means a sex ratio of about 98, which may be considered roughly normal, as compared with the ratios of the original culture and the adopted culture. No more accurate comparison can be made, due to the small size of the population studied.

The fertility of the group is decidedly low when compared with the fertility of the original culture. Among them there are 11 mothers (with husbands living) who are between 38 and 44 years of age, and who were born in this country. These 11 mothers have 29 living children, and they don't expect to have any more. This is an average of 2.6 children per mother, which is decidedly lower than 5, the average of these same women's mothers, who were born in the old country, married there and were still under the direct influence of the original culture when they

¹ For detailed information about the original village culture the reader is referred to my unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Trends of Social and Cultural Change in an Arab Village," Cornell University, 1940, and my two articles, "Social Change in an Arab Village," in the *American Sociological Review*, October 1941, and "Emigration, a Force of Social Change in an Arab Village," in *Rural Sociology*, March 1942. [See also "Missionary Education in Lebanon: A Study in Acculturation," *Social Forces* 21: 338-343, March 1943.—Ed.]

² In the case of Bishmizzeen 487 people (of an average population of 1200) emigrated during the period 1895-1939.

³ Sources of information for this aspect of the study were (1) the writer's personal experiences in these villages (2) church and family documents, records, and letters (3) old-timers in the villages and among the immigrant group.

emigrated. Another indication of this low fertility is that there are 97 women between the ages of 15 and 44 years and 23 children under 5 years of age. This amounts to a low fertility ratio of 237.1.

Since the group established themselves as an immigrant community, i.e., for a period of about forty years, 9 cases of divorce occurred, involving 21 individuals—9 men and 12 women—three of the men being divorced twice each. Of all these, 8 got married again and 13 did not. With respect to nationality, 4 are of the native American stock, 4 born of Syrian parents and 13 original immigrants. The above figures clearly indicate a drastic departure from the original cultural pattern where no divorce was ever permitted. This departure is indicated not only by the number of divorce cases, but also by the fact that several of them got married again and the further fact that there was no community action against any of them.

*Occupations.*⁴ Practically every man and every woman of the original immigrant group (those who came between 1890 and 1914) started as peddlers. Later, mainly after the first World War, all of them changed to other occupations, almost entirely groceries and dry goods.

With the exception of six individuals who came from the town of Tripoli in Lebanon, all of the original immigrants came from village communities and were farmers. In taking up peddling, they made a complete departure from their original background. This departure is further indicated by the fact that women too peddled. That was unprecedented behavior which was never permitted by the original culture. Also in the occupations they took up later, they departed from the original culture. Only three of them own land, but do not work on it as farmers; they rent it to tenants and continue their store work.

Coming to the rest of the group, those who were born here, we find that they have followed to some extent the occupations of their parents—grocery and dry goods. However, we observe here a much greater occupational

variety, touching almost all walks of life, including professional jobs. This shows a tendency on the part of the new generation to adapt themselves more freely to the occupational activities of the adopted culture. On the other hand, it is significant that not a single one among them has reverted to farming, the original occupation of their parents before they emigrated.

The church. The group still belong to the Greek Orthodox Church of their original culture. They held to their religious faith tenaciously, to the extent that not more than four or five of them have formally joined other churches of the larger community. However, the following significant modifications have taken place in the church organization, as the group attempted to adjust, consciously or unconsciously, to the demands of the new culture.

1. Officially, the tie between the local church and the mother church in Syria, through its representative, the Archbishop in New York, is maintained. However, this bond of subordination is to a great extent nominal. The local church enjoys a great deal of independence, and the congregation are openly critical of the recent behavior of the mother church and of the personal behavior of the Archbishop in the United States. Such local independence and such criticism of church authorities were never heard of in the original culture at the time of the group's emigration.

2. With respect to the language used in the service, a compromise has been effected, being conducted partly in Arabic and partly in English. However, the change into English is rapid, and it will not be long before English will be the only language used.

3. There are seats in the church for everybody, and the congregation listen to the service while seated, standing up every now and then at regular intervals. Not only that, but men and women sit next to each other on the same benches. The original culture forbade seats to the congregation, with the exception of very old people, and demanded separation of the sexes during worship, with women occupying the rear section of the church behind a screen.

4. Organ music and choir singing have

⁴Statistical tables on occupations had to be withheld because of limited space.

been introduced. Also every Sunday the priest delivers a sermon (in English) which is a major part of the service. None of these items existed in the original culture.

5. The church building has no bell, while in the old culture no church was really complete without a bell, to ring boisterously for festivals, and dolefully for funerals.

6. There are icons in the church as usual, but no one kneels before them or kisses them, not even the old timers who used to do so regularly in their home villages.

7. The church building has a basement, and in the basement a Sunday school is held. Both of these never existed in the original culture. Also social gatherings of various sorts take place in the basement.

8. The local church has corrected its calendar, so that common religious festivals are celebrated at the same time with other Christian groups. This has been done despite the fact that a calendar of its own has been a distinguishing feature of the Greek Orthodox Church. Also the group have shifted emphasis from Easter, the most important festival of the year for the Greek Orthodox, to the Christmas-New Year celebration of the adopted culture.

9. Baptism of infants, funerals, weddings, and family patron-saints festivals are still practiced according to the original rites. However, there is less noisy emotional demonstration on these occasions.

The family. As has been mentioned above, the joint family unit was paramount in the organization of the original culture. The functions of that unit extended to all significant situations in village life with emphasis upon the group, rather than the individual. The following observations will indicate how this type of family organization has fared under the influence of the adopted culture.

1. The community consists of 366 individuals, divided among 72 independent households, an average of 5 members per household. In the majority of cases, the members of the household consist of the two parents and their unmarried children. In a few cases where dependent grandparents exist, they live with the family of one of their married children. All of this clearly indicates

that the joint family unit has been broken down, as far as location is concerned. There is only one striking exception to this condition, a household, occupying a compound of two large houses, which consists of 16 members: 2 grandparents, 2 sons and their 2 wives, 2 daughters and their 2 husbands, 1 unmarried son and 5 grandchildren.

2. Not only with respect to location, but also economically, has the joint family unit broken down and given way to the biological family pattern. With the exception of the one case mentioned above, no two married brothers own property or undertake any economic activity jointly and co-operatively, as their ancestors used to do. Each individual, as the head of his immediate family, owns his property and runs his business independently.

3. In the original culture, marriage was primarily the concern of the joint family unit, with clearly defined mores. The first generation of immigrants, those who were born in the old country, lived up to the demands of the joint family with respect to early marriage. Some of them came here already married. Most of the rest, who had come here single, in their teens or early twenties, after a stay of two to five years, went back to the old country, got married and emigrated again. The practice of having a large number of children was definitely adhered to by this group, as has been shown under "population aspects." The joint family preference for male children was neglected. In his intensive participation in the life of the group, the writer could not observe any manifestation of this preference on the part of the older immigrants. Complete departure from the original culture has occurred with respect to the subordinate role of the bride in particular and of woman in general. Instead of going to live with her husband's people, the bride now starts her home independently with her husband. She takes full charge of the home. She has also achieved occupational equality. With this goes full economic equality, to the extent of joint ownership of property and business in many cases. Finally, in the choosing of mates with due regard to blood relation, locality, and race, the original immigrants lived up to the demands of their

culture. Some of them were already married when they emigrated. Most of the rest did not hesitate to travel thousands of miles back to the old country for their brides! Of the original immigrants only two men and one woman married into native American stock.

Coming to the generation of immigrants born here, we find practically complete departure from the original culture with respect to every one of the items mentioned above. Early marriage is the exception, rather than the rule. Of the age group 15-24 only 8 are married and 83 are single. The average number of children per married couple has decreased a great deal and the divorce rate has increased, as has been shown above in the discussion on population. In the matter of equality between the sexes, they have gone even further than the first generation. Finally, none of those who were born here went back to the old country to secure a mate, as their fathers did. Most of them married Syrian mates, from their community or from other Syrian communities in the country. However, 20 of them, 16 boys and 4 girls, took the extreme step (according to the original culture) of marrying into the native American stock.

4. In one more significant respect have the group made a complete departure from the original culture in their attempt at adjustment. Most of the original immigrants have either changed or modified their Arabic-Syrian names into American names. Also not a single one of the generation born here has been given an Arabic-Syrian name. All of the names used are American. The true significance of this point can be realized when it is remembered that in the original culture children were almost invariably named after their ancestors and after family patron saints. Through the name, identification with kinship group and church was maintained.

Community life. If the people of this immigrant group have changed their pattern of culture in many respects, they have certainly retained that strong consciousness of community identity which was so characteristic of the Lebanon village. Virtually, they constitute a community within the larger community of the town in which they live. The social-psychological boundaries of this sub-

community are clear and definite, although they do not follow the lines of an ecological pattern. One clear manifestation of this situation is the church. The group has only one church with one form of faith, the Greek Orthodox. Through its rituals, festivals, priest and social activities, the church is a clear expression of community consciousness and identity.

The existence of gossip and primary group relationships are further indications of this community feeling. The locations of the residence and business of each family are known to the other families. Informal visiting is frequent, any time of the day, in stores or in homes. The personal history and current affairs of every one are known to the rest of the community. Indeed, it did not take the writer more than one month of living in the community, before he became an actively interested party in their community gossip and primary group relationships! At the same time the writer was never conscious of the extension of these intensive primary group relationships outside the limits of the Syrian community.

The group has two main clubs, one for men and one for women, with the women's club leading and much more active. The two clubs are genuine community clubs. Membership is open to every adult, and club activities are concerned with the welfare of the community as a whole. There is no special group exclusiveness.

Aside from informal visiting and parties, the people indulge in a few big, formal community festivals or parties. During the three-day annual convention of delegates from all the Syrian communities in the South, they are represented by a well organized group of delegates who try to raise the prestige of their community among the others. They make of their New Year's celebration a big community affair. Through these and other minor occasions, community consciousness is indeed greatly heightened.

The important point that should be considered now is the extent to which this subcommunity, with its high degree of integration and feeling of identity, has succeeded in adjusting to the larger community: the town of which it is a part and the country in

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general. Occupationally, as has been shown above, the Syrian group have specialized mainly in dry goods and groceries. It seems that the town has accorded them this specialized business role, and there are no indications of any limitations or restrictions imposed upon them. Practically all the merchants among them belong to the Chamber of Commerce. They also join freely the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., masonic lodges and similar organizations of the larger community. No barriers have been put before them in this respect. Politically, they have learned the game very well, and usually vote as a bloc. They have also adopted in the main the attitude of the southern whites towards the Negroes. They deal with them in two different situations, as customers and as servants. In the first situation they treat them politely and in a personal manner. In the second situation, the Negroes are treated as members of the family. Practically every family has one or two Negro servants, in the store or in the home. However, in public situations and socially, the Negro is kept in his place. The writer never heard the word "Nigger" used by any of the group. Instead, they use a very convenient Arabic equivalent "Abeed," which means slaves. The word serves its purpose and is not offensive to the Negroes.

Finally, the writer wishes to record his observation of two significant and successful points of adjustment. The first of these is the group's loyalty to America. All of them are either naturalized or born citizens. They are not conscious of any national loyalty that would compete with their loyalty to their adopted nation. They seem to take it for granted that they are American citizens, and go ahead doing what they should do. The second indication of successful adjustment is their situation with respect to relief, delinquency and crime. There are no families on relief among them. Those who are in need are supported by their relatives or by the Syrian community. According to their own proud testimony (corroborated by various officials) they have contributed not more than three cases of minor delinquency and not a single case of major crime, since they began settling in the town about fifty years ago.

However, on the purely social level of interaction, the barriers between the Syrian community and the larger native white community have been thick and high. The two groups are aware of this too. Practically no social visiting at all takes place between the families of the two communities. During his four field trips, the writer, who identified himself with the immigrant group, had occasion to visit only once with a native American family. Dancing dates between the two groups are the frowned-upon deviations, rather than the desired norms. Consequently, one hears the Syrian group normally refer to themselves in the course of conversation as "We Americans," except that when it comes to social relationships, they readily change to "We" and "The Americans."

INTERPRETATION

1. Why has the group, within the span of one generation, changed from a very high to a very low fertility? The following factors are cited as a possible answer: a. Knowledge and use of contraceptives, which did not exist in the old culture. b. Weaker influence of the church in its stand against birth control. c. Delaying the age of marriage. This is in turn associated with three factors: narrow range of choice of a mate in such a small community, barriers against intermarriage with the native stock, and the desire for and availability of more fun. One father illustrated the situation by quoting the case of his boy, "He says he does not want to get married now and settle down; he wants to wait until he has had enough fun and experience." d. Shift of emphasis from the family group to the individual. The joint family unit has broken down, and the new culture does not hold the large family as of supreme value. e. The usual economic and social obstacles to having children. These obstacles did not exist in the original culture. f. Equality of the sexes. The new generation woman refuses to accept her mother's role of being merely a housewife and mother all her days.

2. The emergence of divorce among the group, in whose original background not a single case of divorce has ever been reported, may be explained by the following factors:

a. Breakdown of the traditional man-woman status, which assigned to woman a subordinate role. The new culture gave woman greater economic and social freedom. Some wives took extreme advantage of that, and some husbands could not adjust readily to the change. Divorce was the way out. b. Weaker influence of the church. All of the divorce cases are still bona fide members of the church. The old church would have definitely expelled them. c. Breakdown of the joint family unit whose organization could not tolerate divorce. d. The fact that the new culture condones divorce. No ostracism is meted out as was certain to happen in the old community organization.

3. Why did the first generation of immigrants (practically all of them) take to peddling as an occupation, and later dry goods and groceries? Why have not they taken to farming, their original occupation?

a. Without any single exception, none of the early immigrants intended to settle in this country permanently. Their coveted goal (which was never attained) was to earn as much money as possible, within a short period of time, then go back to the land of their ancestors. Peddling was the best answer to their quest. Unlike farming, it did not tie them down to the place permanently. Also peddling gave them quick and lucrative results. The old immigrants still talk about those difficult but lucrative peddling days. This is how one old woman said it. "For 35 years I have been living in this town; and the first thing I did after arriving here was to peddle. Yes, I carried a heavy pack on my back and roamed the countryside. I did not know more than ten words of English, but managed to get along. It was hard and tiring work indeed, but I made much money. Things were different in those days; people used to pay much for our goods, and there were no stores as we have today. Believe me, during the first Christmas season I made \$500!" b. Almost none of the early immigrants had enough money to start an independent business. Peddling demanded very small initial capital and gave good profits. c. They possessed no knowledge of the English language, and peddling did not make much of a demand in that respect. d. Carry-

ing of loads on the back was strongly characteristic of the old culture. Sacks of produce, heavy rocks from the quarry, loads of fuel wood, etc., were normally transported by the people on the backs of their donkeys and on their own backs. The transfer from that to a peddler's pack was not difficult to make. e. The type of farming they encountered in the deep South—a plantation system based upon cash crops, tenancy and share-cropping—was completely alien to them. For generations farming in these Lebanon villages was intensive, diversified, and undertaken as a joint family enterprise.

4. The following factors may explain the group's behavior in connection with the church. Perhaps, most important of all is the personality of the priest. He has been living in the locality for about thirty years, during which time he educated himself and acquired a broad knowledge of the American culture. He connected himself with several native churches, teaching in their Sunday Schools and preaching from their pulpits. With such a background, the priest was able to see the function of his church in perspective and accept changes he believed were essential for its "progress." The following are quotations from several interviews with him: "Some members of the community were strongly opposed to some of the changes we introduced, but there is always a way to overcome much opposition and keep the church progressing. We have to keep up with the times as they change; we must keep our church *streamlined*, if we are to *compete* successfully with other churches. Otherwise the new generation will lose interest. . . . We canceled several items—use of olive oil in rituals, vesper services, the church bell and others—because they were no longer *practical*."

Another important factor has been the emancipation of woman among the group, granting her equality with man in various aspects of life, including the church. A women's society was organized, which has been very active in supporting the church and leading in its program. Leadership of this society has been entirely in the hands of the younger generation, especially one extremely active and able young lady who has been

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elected president seven times. This society has been directly or indirectly responsible for many of the changes in the church.

5. Due to the very significant role played in the original culture by the joint family unit, its breakdown may be considered as the most drastic change that befell the immigrant community. The primary factor responsible for this breakdown seems to be the new economic organization which the immigrants were forced to adopt. Probably the *raison d'être* for the joint family unit in the old culture was its economic function. The land was the common property of the unit, binding the members together. The prevalent method of acquiring land was to inherit it as a member of a joint family and as a prospective head of a new joint family. Of course, this economic function of the family was organically tied up with its social, religious and community functions. Now when these village people began to emigrate (under extreme population pressure which could not be relieved otherwise) they did so as individuals, and not as family units, with one supreme purpose in mind: to acquire as much money as possible, as soon as possible, then go back to the old village. Later, as the immigrants plunged into the struggle for their coveted goal, they realized that they had to surrender into a new economic organization which had no place for the joint family. Deprived of its economic function, this unit had to give in, although to a lesser degree, with respect to its other functions.

Equality between the sexes, which developed very early among the immigrants, was also responsible for the breakdown of the joint family. Women worked as hard as men in their effort to earn money. At first they peddled, as men did, and later they joined in the managing of stores. In many cases they were more successful than their husbands or sons, and no longer were they confined to the subordinate status assigned them by the joint family. The following story of a woman who is over seventy years old is an illustration of the above mentioned points: "Long ago, over thirty years, my husband came here first. I wanted to come with him, but he refused, saying that it

would be a *shame* on him to let his wife travel to the end of the world in order to earn a living. I insisted that we should emigrate together and take the children with us. We had four of them. Finally, we split the family; my husband emigrated with our oldest daughter, and I stayed with the rest of the children behind. The climate here did not suit my husband, and he fell ill. I left the children with their grandmother and joined him. I tried peddling, as soon as I arrived, and succeeded very well at it, making much money. Then *I sent my husband back home* and continued my successful peddling."

6. Why have the group maintained their community consciousness and identity to such a great extent as described above, while they changed radically and readily in other respects? One obvious reason is the fact that they come from a highly homogeneous background—from the same locality on the western slopes of the Lebanon mountains, and mainly from three villages in that locality. They re-established a pattern of community life which had already been familiar to all of them. Another similar reason is that all of them belonged to the same church in the old country, where the church had always been an integral aspect and an expression of community life.

Probably the most important factor in this respect has been the social barriers that the native whites (of the middle and upper classes) have established between themselves and the immigrants. It seems that the latter had to fall back upon themselves, upon their form of community life, in order to satisfy their desire for an intimate, personal type of social intercourse. One of them said to the writer, "The good white families do not believe that we are their equals, and we do not feel that the lower whites are our equals; consequently, we do not associate with either of them socially." From this situation it should not be inferred that the immigrant community shows any signs of a feeling of inferiority. They are large enough as a group to enjoy social self-sufficiency, while in other respects they have been fully accepted by the larger community.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY OF HOME ADJUSTMENT*

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Homes and neighborhoods should be planned for frictionless family life. So far, the relationship between the needs of the family and the physical residential structure has not been analyzed on a scientific level. In this field of observation, of practical importance for post-war planning, the sociologist has not yet made his contribution. The conceptual framework offered in this article tries to tie together the somewhat divergent thought patterns of architecture and sociology.

HOUSING involves a problem of social adjustment. The modern family is confronted with the task of fitting the routine of its private life into the physical shelter of its residential home. The problems arising are of a somewhat different order than other adjustment problems such as crime and insanity. It is not a matter of reaching conformity between the behavior of the individual and the standards accepted by his environment. Nevertheless, the process of home adjustment is dependent upon a complicated framework of socio-psychological interactions. The physical structure of the home is apt to have its bearing upon family solidarity as well as the individual's need for community institutions outside the family home.

The attention of the architect, who plans and designs the home, will have to be called to the sociological implications of the problem. It is the inclination of the modern architect to consider the housing requirements of the modern family in terms of quantitative standards and a limited number of model designs which are not tested with regard to their usefulness for various types of families. The sociologist has not made, as yet, his contribution to the practical need for functional home planning.

In the following the attempt is made to develop a theoretical framework which might be helpful in co-ordinating the traditional thought patterns of both architecture and sociology.

I. ARCHITECTURAL MEANS

Our modern family home may be looked upon as the outgrowth of the earliest cellar dwellings on Manhattan Island or the pioneer block-house. One room gave shelter to the entire family. Gradually one room after another, assigned for specialized use, was added to the family home. Very different in nature is the problem which the modern architect faces in designing the most suitable home for the family. He does not add as many specialized rooms as economically possible to a basic set of minimum requirements. He starts out with an economical calculation of the *total sheltered space* which the family is able to rent or buy. From there, his considerations turn to the number and location of subdivisions inside the physical structure. The limited economic means available in the family budget force the architect to consider the best possible *compromise* with regard to the following three items: (1) privacy versus space; (2) distance versus proximity (circulation); (3) equipment versus total space.

The compromise has to be determined with the requirements of family life in mind. It will be necessary to apply social insight, experience or intuition, as long as no adequate research material is available.

(1) Within the limits of total space which the family can afford, it is the task of the architect

to increase the opportunity for privacy—for the separation of different home activities—until the individual rooms have to be cut down to an undesirable size.

According to family type and social en-

* Prepared for the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December, 1942.

vironment, different solutions suggest themselves with regard to the alternative between a limited number of relatively spacious or a larger number of relatively small rooms. Middle class families are apt to require more privacy, while a manual laborer's family may be inconvenienced by lack of spaciousness in the individual room.

Attempts are abundant in modern architecture to overcome the rigidity in the alternative between either privacy or space. Complete walls are replaced by limited partitions which create relatively isolated corners within one and the same room. In the upper class home, dining, social entertaining and various leisure time activities may be separated by curve-shaped partitions, alcoves and similar arrangements without impairing the impression of spaciousness in the downstairs living space. There have even been attempts to use partitions in minimum-sized city apartments, where privacy and space find themselves in particularly eager competition with each other. They should be less successful, however, because of the different situation to be met in the low-cost apartment. The functions to be separated—such as sleeping, dining and studying—are rather heterogeneous and require absolute privacy much more rigidly than small talk, radio-listening and card-playing in the fashionable residence where separate bedrooms are provided for the members of the family apart from the space available for group activities.

The furniture arrangement in the home is often used today to achieve a similar effect. The traditional concentric pattern, arranged around the dining room table in the middle of the room, may be replaced by small and relatively separated groups of furniture. Thus it is possible to retain a fair-sized room in the home and, at the same time, to provide relative privacy for activities that are unrelated to each other.

The ingenuity of the architect is challenged with regard to all kinds of technical devices which allow for a change from privacy to space and vice versa according to the momentary requirements. He considers the use of sliding doors, Venetian blinds, rolling leather partitions and glass partitions

for this very purpose.

(2) Once the size and the number of rooms is given, the architect has to decide upon the floor plan, i.e., upon an optimal solution with regard to distance and proximity between the individual rooms. It is his task

to increase the distance between two rooms until the advantage of functional separation is outweighed by the disadvantage of increased length of traffic and transportation.

Distance means separation of activities beyond the insulating effect of the wall. A bathroom adjacent to a bedroom is a source of annoyance. It is desirable to separate kitchen and living room by locating a dining room in the middle. On the other hand, there is an advantage also in the proximity of two rooms that are functionally related. Bedroom and bathroom should not be too remote from each other nor should the dining space be far from the kitchen in order to avoid an excess of toil and trouble with regard to traffic and transportation in the home.

Separation by distance is often impossible for economic reasons. In the compact structure of the modern residence all rooms are usually held together in a tight cluster. The tendency prevails to replace distance by the use of insulation techniques.

Good home design requires planning for adequate *circulation* between the individual rooms which is almost impossible without a detailed sociological analysis of the routine of family life. An ideal arrangement of communications within the home is one that

makes it possible to reach every room directly from the main entrance without crossing any other room.

Again, a compromise may be forced upon the architect for different reasons: the compactness of the design may suffer; it may be necessary to give a wasteful amount of space to the hall in order to achieve this purpose. The social consequences of "indirect access" vary considerably. The number of possible alternatives with regard to cross-room traffic are limited. With the frictionless functioning of family life in mind, some solutions are intolerable (xxx), some of

them fit particular family situations (xx) and some of them do not involve a great deal of frustration in the average family (x). The list of possible arrangements:

Cross-Traffic:

Through kitchen	Through living room
xxx to living room	x to kitchen
xxx to bedroom	x to bedroom
xx to dinette	x to dinette
Through bedroom	
xxx to kitchen	
xxx to living room	
xxx to dinette	

The list is self-explanatory. It is mainly the living room that may serve as a transit room if other advantages are gained by such arrangement. In small apartments the bedroom is often accessible through the living room only. In order to save space and to simplify the flow of traffic, the kitchen is sometimes accessible through the living room only; with deliveries, bad weather and the manual laborer's work clothes in mind, however, this arrangement should rather be avoided.

Doors are a necessary requirement for the communication between rooms. They are thus desirable unless they

- 1) interfere with other doors or windows;
- 2) cause undesirable traffic crowding;
- 3) interfere with the placement of furniture.

(3) The economics of housing force a considerable part of all families into overcrowded home conditions. Adjustment to overcrowding is facilitated by ingenious equipment. Provided with adequate and well-arranged storage space, the modern kitchen is smaller than that of our grandparents. Built-in beds make it possible to use one and the same room for a double purpose, for sleeping at night, and for study, living room and such in the daytime. Due to the trends of cost for sheltered space on the one hand, and for equipment, on the other hand, we observe today a trend toward a continuous decrease of the total space of the individual home while an ingenious interior equipment mitigates the inconveniences. The architect will have to limit the total space of the home until interior equipment and the reduction

of rents or payments do not compensate any more for the growing irritation caused by overcrowding.

This development has reached its extreme in the so-called model apartment, where the "kitchen-in-a-closet," built-in beds, folding tables and a considerable amount of storage space make it possible to house a small family group in a minimum of space. These model apartments are acceptable only where land values are high and where the costly steel construction of the skyscraper has raised the rents per square foot to the utmost. This environment will never be desirable for full family living.

A compromise in favor of equipment and at the sacrifice of square-footage, however, will be chosen wherever space is scarce and expensive. The advanced equipment of our model apartments has been anticipated in the "ship-shape" arrangement of the berth on a boat, in Pullman cars and airplanes. Of greater importance, sociologically, is the widespread application of this principle with regard to the housing of the urban middle classes and manual laborers. The general trend in this direction is conspicuous in all industrialized countries and must be attributed to the fact that the building industry does not yet enjoy the economic advantages of concentrated mass-production, while this is the case for furniture, machinery and other household equipment.

II. SOCIAL ENDS

Any functional evaluation of home accommodations must try to relate the available number of rooms, their size and arrangement to the functions of family life which are carried out within. As we have seen, the accommodation of housing needs always involves a compromise between alternating sets of advantages and disadvantages. Thus the formulation of these needs is dependent upon the particular time and situation which is to be favored by the home design.

1. *Housing needs vary in time.*

(a) *Everyday life and special occasions.* The family home cannot be planned for the routine of everyday life only. Special "occa-

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sions" have to be accommodated such as birthdays and other family anniversaries, confirmations, weddings, funerals and social entertaining. Events of this nature may be relatively infrequent, but they establish prestige in the community and consolidate the family group.

The housing needs for "special occasions" do not only call for an increase of total space in the family home, but also for a change of plan which might seriously clash with the requirements for the routine of everyday life. Although desirable because of the family's habit of gathering in the kitchen for meals and informal recreation, a kitchen-living room may have to be abandoned for the benefit of a large-sized and separate living room to serve as a more stately setting at formal entertainings. Instead it may be necessary to keep the kitchen smaller than desirable or to sacrifice bedroom space in order to enlarge upon the living room.

(b) *Weekly rhythm of home activities.* The housing needs change considerably during the seven days of the week. The household activities vary from Monday to Saturday. The beginning of the week is taken up by washing, ironing. Friday is in most cases reserved for general house cleaning. Recreational home life is concentrated upon the weekend. In accommodating the housing needs of the family the entire weekly sequence of events has to be taken into consideration. A compromise has to be obtained between the various requirements connected with different activities.

(c) *Daily rhythm of home activities.* All rooms of the home stand unoccupied during at least 12 of the 24 hours of the day. During most of the daytime the housewife and children under school age are the only occupants of the home. They may use the kitchen or the living room as their main residence. At meal times kitchen and possibly dining space are crowded by all members of the family. In the evening hours, the living room is the center of recreational activities, with possible withdrawal into the kitchen or a bedroom-study combination for special activities that require relative privacy. At night the bedrooms alone are occupied unless

a bedstead is placed in the living room, dining room or kitchen. The home design can express different values. It may emphasize either privacy for sleeping purposes, the recreational life in the home or its function as a household laboratory.

If two functions, separated in time, can be assigned to one and the same room, the housing needs are cut down in terms of space and privacy. In case of extreme overcrowding specialized bedrooms may be abandoned; instead, kitchen, dinette and living room may be transformed to serve as sleeping quarters at night. The duplication of functional use accommodates the housing needs of the family on a more economical basis.

(d) *Seasonal fluctuations.* The warm season eases the burden of housing needs. Play space for children need not be reserved within the home to the same extent as during winter months and bad weather. The living space of the family is extended to porch, backyard and garden. In the purchase or rental of a home, attractive location and inside comfort sometimes compete with each other for the margin that is set up in the family budget to cover the housing needs.

(e) *Social change.* So far the effects of the time element upon housing needs have been considered in terms of reiterating cycles: days, weeks, the seasons of the year, family anniversaries and other social occasions. Time, also, encompasses social change.

The modern family functions as a consumption unit. Productive processes have been eliminated from the family home. The elimination of other functions from the individual home is still in progress. In our days, the functions of education, recreation and more specific leisure time activities are influenced by this tendency.

Education today begins at nursery school age. Home studies are to an increasing degree replaced by longer school hours and library work, very often involving school luncheons. Play groups are organized outside the home. Leisure time activities are organized around specialized hobbies, sports and recreational pastimes which disperse the individual members of the family to clubs, associations and spontaneous cliques which

have their meeting place outside the home.

The effects upon the housing needs of the family are obvious. The family is torn in two opposite directions: (1) The increase of home facilities—such as children's playroom, recreation rooms for adolescents and study-bedroom accommodations—in order to retain the family home as the center for educational and leisure time activities; and (2) the decrease of demands for individual home facilities, the rationalization of home adjustment and savings in the housing budget by the utilization of clubs, commercial entertainments and neighborhood facilities. In most strata of our society the emotional evaluation seems to favor the former alternative. The trend of actual changes points unflinching toward the second alternative.

2. *Housing needs vary with family type and composition.*

Housing needs are variable with regard to demographic, social and psychological characteristics of the individual family.

(a) *The family cycle.* The composition of the family is a fundamental determinant of housing needs. Different accommodations are required by a young and childless couple, both husband and wife being gainfully employed, by a family with an infant and children under school age, by a family with adolescent or adult children and, finally, by old couples who have lost contact altogether with any kind of occupational work. In most cases the home is not selected with only the immediate needs of the family in mind. Almost 50 percent of the American families purchase their homes, and although there is a tendency to establish home ownership during the later phases of the occupational career, the family and the architect are confronted with the task of providing home and neighborhood facilities in such a manner as to anticipate and cover the requirements that will arise within the entire cycle of family life.

(b) *Social status.* Housing needs differ with social status, occupational affiliation and social customs prevailing in the neighborhood of the family home. Significant differences may be anticipated with regard to

social entertaining, taking of meals and leisure time activities at home. The home situations with regard to child care, sleeping arrangements and housework may not vary too much with social status. But the families on a higher income level have probably become used to greater conveniences, more space as well as privacy.

(c) *Personality traits.* Varying personality traits affect the housing needs of the family. With the emphasis upon standard designs, the problems involved have to be neglected by the architect who is building for the lower and middle income strata. Deviation from a standard design implies increased costs of construction and a decrease of the market value. Thus, if we eliminate the tailor-made home of the upper classes, the personality traits influence rather the choice between different salable standard designs than the construction of the home as such.

Neurasthenic, neurotic and psychotic conditions increase the desire for privacy. One room may have to be specialized for the use of the ailing person alone and, thus, either cramp the rest of the family into relatively overcrowded conditions or extend the amount of income spent for rent or payments on the family home. Heart disease will make it necessary to avoid steep ascents in communication with neighborhood facilities and means of transportation. Within the home, the use of stairs will have to be avoided.

(d) *Patterns of dominance.* Of extreme importance for the housing needs of the family is the individually accepted pattern of dominance. It represents an important aspect of the relationship existing between the different members of the family. Whether the requirements of the father, the housewife or the two parents, or whether the interests of the children predominate in the family group may seriously affect the home design or the choice of the family home. It decides who, in the process of home adjustment, is to make the necessary sacrifices.

III. THE PROCESS OF HOME ADJUSTMENT

Neither the housing needs of the family

nor the technical means of the architect can be formulated in terms of fixed standards or quantities. Housing needs are relative. They are dependent upon traditions, techniques and the cost relationships of their social setting. It seems warranted, therefore, to center the development of a theoretical framework in the housing field around the "home adjustment process."

Satisfactory home adjustment can be achieved in two ways:

- 1) via the tangible, objective part of the physical shelter, and
- 2) via the more subjective part of individual attitudes and family behavior.

The architect can do his best to improve the comfort of the family by an adequate residential construction. On the other hand, a great deal of waste and maladjustment in the housing field can be overcome by educational measures. Often the intentions which the architect expresses in his home design are not understood by the tenants. Traditions, peculiar habits and irrational family traits may completely thwart the efforts of the family to establish a comfortable home in a given physical shelter. Unfortunately, educational efforts to assist the family in the process of home adjustment are limited.

The ideal housing situation is characterized by a minimum of functional frustration and a maximum of economy in the construction of the house and management of home activities. The mechanism of adjusting architectural means to family needs was discussed above. The architect has to decide upon the optimal compromise with regard to space, privacy, equipment and floor-plan. The adjustment techniques by which the family makes the best possible use of the given shelter have not yet been discussed.

Available space in the family home is assigned to different home activities in such a manner as to achieve a minimum of mutual interference. Also the activities have to be distributed in such a manner over the various subdivisions of the home as to minimize the labor involved in housekeeping and household management in general. These measures will take the form of functional rearrange-

ments in the organization of family life. Very important in this respect is the recent tendency of transferring certain family functions to other agencies than the family home. It is enforced by the need of cutting down the expenses of the individual family home, on the one hand, and the trend toward the loosening of ties between the individual members of the family, on the other. The architect, for that reason, considers the neighborhood as an adequate planning unit. He accommodates many specialized functions, such as recreation, hobbies and other leisure time activities, outside the individual family home.

The organization of family life can be applied also as a space-saving device. It is left to the ingenuity of the housewife or the individual family to assign a multiplicity of functions to one and the same room unit. This will be possible only if these activities do not overlap in time. Such rearrangement of home activities, when driven to the point of extreme rationalization, imposes a very special type of sacrifice upon the individual member of the family. In adjustment to the activities of other members of the family it will be necessary to "migrate" for activities between the different rooms of the family home. Even the same activity may have to be moved from one room to the other at different times of the day. Home studies for example may have to be carried out in the living room during the afternoon, while food is being prepared in the kitchen; they may have to be continued in the kitchen during the evening hours, when the living room is occupied by the leisure time activities of other members of the family. This "migration" between different rooms is apt to impair intellectual concentration. It may convey a feeling of insecurity. Its possible disadvantages have to be seriously considered wherever children are reared in the family home. If they are feasible at all, however, these techniques of home adjustment introduce an element of desirable economy into the housing requirements of the family.

The process of home adjustment may succeed or it may fail. If it fails, unnecessary functional frustration or economic waste will

be the consequence. Certain functions may be eliminated from the family home before an outside agency stands ready to take over the family's place. The leisure time activities of the young generation may be frustrated in an overcrowded family home; the young people leave home in the evening hours. If club facilities are not provided outside the home, if there are no organized leisure time activities that the adolescent boy or girl can attend, they will hang around the pool-room, possibly drift into delinquency and criminal activities. But there are degrees of functional frustration. It is not always a matter of complete functional elimination. Interference, however, may cut down the value of certain home activities. It may cause nervous tension. The more remote consequences of such functional frustration encompass the entire field of symptoms of social disorganization. It may lead to physical and mental disease, to delinquency, crime and both personality and family disorganization. In short, *the unfavorable effects of insufficient housing conditions will have to be studied as the outcome of a failure in the process of home adjustment.*

Successful home adjustment implies flexible adjustment to social change. Technology undergoes continuous improvements. These improvements will change opinions about the

family's housing requirements. On the other hand, family life does not change in adjustment only to technical advances in the housing field. It is dependent upon economic and occupational trends in our society. Educational standards and leisure time activities influence the cohesion that exists between different members of the family, especially between the old and the young generation. Thus the task of the architect changes continuously and is complicated by the fact that—due to the housing amortization period of at least half a century—not only customs and habits of the present but also those of a relatively remote future have to be anticipated.

At this point we approach the field of social planning. We may cease to regard "housing" as a number of relatively separated adjustment problems which we face with the assumption of "others being equal." We may consider technological and social change in close relationship to each other, i.e., in terms of a dynamic equilibrium. The architect will have to co-operate with the political leader. Values will have to be formulated and plans for the future made accordingly. Technical advancement and its possible consequences for the family institution will have to be anticipated in a blue-print of desirable social progress.

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THE SOCIAL ROLE OF THE MORMON POLYGAMOUS MALE*

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The dominant position of the Mormon polygamous male in the family group was favorable to his ego-security. However, other factors impeded his attainment of this security. These impeding factors were largely due to the fact that his own behavior and his expectations of others' behavior were in many ways conditioned by the monogamous patterns of the larger American society, from which the Mormon group had only recently departed. Feelings of guilt and insecurity frequently resulted.

IN A PREVIOUS article on the role of the Mormon polygamous female the writer stated that:

Mormonism drew the bulk of its adult members in the early days from monogamous societies as proselytes. Those who married into polygamy were presented with no well-defined role to fill. Because of this and their monogamous backgrounds they found it difficult to achieve satisfactory marriage adjustment in the polygamous family and consequently experienced thwarting and insecurity.¹

Although it might be assumed that the thwarting and insecurity experienced by the husband would be less than that of the wife (or even that he might experience no adjustment difficulties) in view of his dominant position and the fact that polyandry was not practiced, the data² contain ample evidence

to the contrary. Some of these data will be presented here, after a brief statement of the theoretical background, in the form of (a) a comparison of the conventional 19th Century role of husband with the polygamous role, and (b) the responses of the personality to the discrepancies between the two. In brief, the position taken here is that the polygamous husband was trying to fill his role in the monogamous manner.

I. *The Compulsive Nature of the Role.*
It is commonplace to assert that filling the social role is more than the doing of certain habitual acts oriented toward a goal; it represents in addition the more or less integrated pattern of attitudes and ideas that accompanies these acts, and reflects the value placed on the goal by the group. The roles of father, or wife, or child, then, are filled sometimes less by physical performances than by assumption of the psychic accompaniments of the performances—the proper attitudes and expectancies. Moreover, one's satisfactory adjustment to other members of institutional groups depends upon their filling roles sociologically and psychologically complementary to one's own. From this standpoint, the personality may be viewed as consisting of two aspects: tendencies to behave in certain predetermined ways, and expectancies that the other in the social situation will behave in certain ways. Behavior, of course, includes both overt and covert activity. The expectancy aspect of the personality includes the tension and anticipatory phases of any cycle of activity involving interaction with others; the con-

*The present article (with the exception of a few additional theoretical considerations) was largely adapted from the writer's unpublished Ph.D. thesis (cited below) written during 1938-1939. Some of the cases and points of analysis resemble portions of an article published by Professor Kimball Young as Ch. XVII of *Studies in Personality Contributed in Honor of Lewis M. Terman* (New York, 1942). This resemblance possibly is due to the fact that the field data collected by the present writer were shared by Professor Young and himself.

¹"Social Role and Personal Security in Mormon Polygamy," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XLV, p. 542, 1940.

²Based on extensive case records of 47 polygamous families secured in Utah while the writer was Research Assistant to Professor Kimball Young at the University of Wisconsin. The study was financed by a grant-in-aid by the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin during the period 1936-38.

summatory phase can be experienced only insofar as the behavior tendencies of the other coincide with the expectancies of the actor.³ Completion of the cycle requires that the conception of his role held by the other must be substantially the complement of the actor's conception of his own role. Both these conceptions arise out of experience, and while they may be altered, alterations may be made only to the extent that they comply with the person's notions of their appropriateness and consistency—that is, so long as they do not infringe the integrity of the self.⁴

If the behavior of the other does not jibe with the expectancies of the actor, a variety of compensatory activity on the part of the actor may result, due to his being thwarted. This variety may be classified somewhat as follows:

1. Withdrawal from the situation.
2. Adjustment by anxiety and related forms of behavior.
3. Adjustment by co-operative, sympathetic behavior with others.
4. Adjustment by aggressive, dominant behavior.⁵

In all cases, threats to his self-esteem or ego-security are involved, and generally the style of response is directly related to his sense of adequacy in the situation. Even if the person withdraws from the situation and reduces his losses as much as possible, some rationalization of a face-saving nature is required.⁶ This rationalization is accomplished covertly so often that its character is difficult to discover, especially on the

³On the subject of the cycle of activity, see Kimball Young, *Personality and Problems of Adjustment* (New York, 1940), pp. 64-68.

⁴The relation of the self to institutionalized roles acquired during socialization is demonstrated in G. H. Mead's *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago, 1934). See especially pp. 144, 156.

⁵Lois Barclay Murphy employs essentially this division in her *Social Behavior and Child Personality* (New York, 1937), with the culture permitting responses ranging on a scale from aggression through co-operation to sympathy. See pp. 273, 280. Laurance F. Shaffer, *The Psychology of Adjustment* (Boston, 1936), Part II, summarizes this whole matter in "objective terms."

⁶Kimball Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-86.

basis of the present data, which are far removed in point of time from the situations where the behavior occurred.

II. *The Polygamous Male's Expectancies.* Polygamy was openly espoused by the Mormons only from 1852 to 1890; during this period the pattern served more as a potent in-group symbol than as a definitely established and freely accepted institutional plan-of-life for the individual. Its failure to become a well-integrated culture pattern may be ascribed partly to the monogamous background of the converts to Mormonism and also to fairly widespread doubts within the group as to the "worthiness" of more than a few exceptional men and women to live in polygamy, and to vigorous opposition from the remainder of the nation.⁷ Consequently, the personality of the maturing Mormon male was integrated around an essentially monogamous pattern of expectancies with respect to the marriage role. This pattern included the 19th Century patriarchal mores of Western civilization, plus several local Mormon additions of a religious character.⁸

Without excluding other factors, the following appear to be the essential elements in the prevailing monogamous pattern of expectancies as far as the male was concerned: (1) control of a relatively non-competing group of wife and children whose own roles were based upon subservience and acquiescence, (2) in which group the occasional conflicts of interest were resolved by standardized practices. He also anticipated (3) sexual interest in one woman exclusively, (4) uninterrupted association with her, and (5) a life experience uncomplicated by demands that he resolve a large number of contests among the family members by techniques of his own devising. Underlying this male pattern was of course a generalized

⁷This point is further elaborated in the author's "The Sociological and Social Psychological Aspects of the Mormon Polygamous Family," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Wisconsin, 1939), pp. 7-12.

⁸These particular local additions are included because they applied to all males in the society, polygamous as well as monogamous, thus approximating "universals" in Ralph Linton's sense. See his *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 272.

role assumed by anyone who might become a spouse, organized around what is commonly described as the romantic pattern modified in accordance with Christian ideology. Among the components of this pattern were high valuation of emotional attachment for a member of the opposite sex, free choice of a mate, and life-long fidelity going so far as to prevent or long delay the remarriage of a widow or widower. The female was the "weaker vessel," and was placed in a position so exalted that she was permitted no aggressive part in the courtship or in certain phases of family life.⁹

The Mormons introduced relatively few innovations into the monogamous pattern. There was still the ascetic Christian modification of romanticism; there was sex repression of course. The most notable contributions were connected with the religious ideology of the community. In the first place, the continuity of the family unit was vastly extended into the celestial world. "Sealing for time and eternity" secured this continuity; ancestors as well as descendants became a part of the family, with the father at the head like a patriarch in ancient Israel. The father was the ruler of a constantly expanding kingdom which recruited its citizens by births and by post-mortem baptism of forebears. The status of the Mormon father was further elevated. He was the priest or High Priest of the family, holding the "keys of salvation"; it was only through him that a woman could be "saved." Moreover, through the possession of the keys of the priesthood he was superior to Mormon members of any lesser priesthood and to all non-Mormon males. Thus, the father's role and status were essentially the same as in the culture of monogamy, with the added advantage of even greater ego-security in his status assured by the dominant religious culture.

It is argued here that despite the elevation

⁹ Jealousy was also a potent ego-protective device in the romantic pattern. For obvious reasons its expression by a wife was inhibited by polygamous mores, thus impairing her security. See J. E. Hulett, Jr., "Social Role and Personal Security in Mormon Polygamy," *op. cit.*, p. 548.

of status described above, when the Mormon male entered polygamy he experienced frustration and, in many cases, ego-insecurity because of the conflict between his monogamous pattern of expectancies and the actualities of the polygamous situation. Because of the pressure put upon some men to enter polygamy, the undoubted rivalry among a few in the matter of acquiring more wives, and their general monogamous backgrounds, many men must have married several women without genuine conviction that it was "right." Their lack of conviction was due to their conception of themselves as filling monogamous roles built up before they joined the church or from other social forces operating in opposition to polygamy, both within the local society and outside. They found themselves sexually and emotionally involved with several women, whereas the wider culture demanded adherence to the requirement of life-long fidelity to one woman. This was a conflict based upon cultural influences. Moreover, personal-social¹⁰ influences often aggravated this uncertainty; even though the husband might have achieved a personality adapted to polygamous culture, other people—his wives and his children—often did not fill their roles according to his expectancies. In addition to this, the resistance that developed in the wider society "outside" could not be ignored entirely, even though intellectually he had convinced himself of the world's sinfulness and the Saints' infallibility. Within his own local society of course he enjoyed a certain high status; he had a larger number of people subject to his authority, and extra glory in the celestial kingdom was to be his. Although this latter was a great distance from the immediate area of conflict, it was certainly a significant component of the ego-security of the polygamist. The remainder of this paper will be given over to a number of citations from the cases to illustrate the foregoing.

III. *The Polygamous Male's Experiences.* Undoubtedly, some men "succeeded" at the practice of polygamy—that is, they were

¹⁰ Kimball Young, *Social Psychology, an Analysis of Social Behavior* (New York, 1930), p. 13, note 5.

able to make the requisite alterations in their patterns of expectancies so that their own and others' performances represented no great threat to the integration of their personalities. However, the writer is persuaded that, for the most part, monogamous expectancies prevailed while polygamous performances occurred: the male was forced to fill a role for which he had no equipment and for which the community furnished him very little. The frequent frustrations resulting were marked by (1) efforts to use specific monogamous techniques to solve polygamous problems, (2) withdrawal from the area of conflict (another monogamous device), (3) unawareness of the subtle interplay of personalities within the family or lack of sympathy with the demands of others, or (4) refusal of the male to recognize the demands and subsequent pursuit of his own satisfactions. The suggestion is made that his withdrawal was caused by failure of the culture to provide controls, and by his own insecurity in his role, and was complicated by guilt feelings resulting from his violation of monogamous mores.

The above factors may be illustrated by considering three categories of activity: (1) the male's overt activities when confronted by conflict of interest among family members, (2) his general course of dealing in the family, and (3) those aspects of the foregoing which suggest ego-insecurity and defensive behavior.

1. *The Father's Behavior when Confronted by Conflict among Family Members.* The father's control techniques were intended to secure co-operation in the family. The available data do not supply knowledge of the more subtle methods used to encourage co-operation, but they do yield some impression of the type of positive action taken to ameliorate the difficulty and of the occasions when he retreated from the situation by refusing to hear controversies or by such a familiar device as illness. The Mormon father was no more sensitive to the security demands of the family members than was any other father in our society. Consequently, he depended upon techniques supplied by the group to reduce antagonisms,

such as the more or less subtle use of his authority as patriarch, appeals to religious sanctions, and equitable distribution of material goods and prestige among the members according to his own judgment. However, few of these men were able to use for this purpose techniques more advanced than ordinary "ordering and forbidding," and piecemeal and temporary adjustments of the unpleasant situation to meet the immediate demands. The range of these practices was extreme. The mildest was indicated by one man's "idea of what would be the happiest thing in his life: his three wives all coming downstairs in the morning saying 'Good Morning' pleasantly to each other," while others used such arbitrary devices as the following ostensibly conciliatory procedure:

"When there was a quarrel between the wives, father would ask one of them to fix supper for the one whom she had quarreled with and then to go and bring the other and they'd all eat together. He would talk it all over with them and wouldn't let them go to bed until everything was all straightened out. It was the same with the children. He would take the ones who had quarreled out riding with him and make them sit together and talk it over. He wouldn't let them separate until they were friends again."

In the final analysis, however, there was no device in the husband's monogamously oriented role for meeting the demands of controlling a polygamous family. Consequently, withdrawal in the face of conflict or potential conflict was a more characteristic response than any aggressive act. The retreat was covered by familiar group-accepted camouflages: "Women's disputes were too trivial," he was busy, the contestants were in conflict over something out of his sphere, he was not aware of any disagreements, he was ill, and finally, without giving a reason he arbitrarily refused to hear of disagreements. Occasionally an informant reported that "father was not around much when the wives were together; he made himself pretty scarce," or (in another case) "He avoided being in company with two or more wives at the same time. This was conspicuously done in order to forestall any

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conflict that might arise out of the situation."

A few of the cases were marked by illness and other indications of personal disorganization which, without further data, the writer is unwilling to attribute exclusively to the family conflict situation. Cases of hysteria are usually so involved that no single factor can be positively identified as the cause, but certain elements in these cases indicate that the situation must have contributed to the men's headaches and "rheumatism." The daughter of one polygamist recalled the following episode of his imprisonment after his conviction for bigamy:

"The prison officials liked my brother, who was being released from the penitentiary just as father was going in. Brother asked them to be good to father because he had such bad headaches—he'd been a businessman all his life, and I guess the head work made him have those headaches. They didn't shave his beard or make him wear stripes. He made the soap for all the prisoners and supervised the laundry. He didn't have many headaches because he was out in the open so much. He got a good rest. We felt as if he was with the best people while he was there."

This is the same man who settled disputes by forcing the contestants to stay together until they had settled their grievances. "I've heard my mother say that father knew polygamy was a trial, but that it was a greater trial to him." He was born in England and came to Utah as a young man. His second and third marriages occurred 20 years after the first, and he became the father of 34 children.

Although the informant gave the conventional report that there was no controversy in the family, there is a possibility that the headaches which were relieved by going to the penitentiary were related to the total family situation, from which the father escaped to the comparative security of the prison. Unfortunately because of their deficiencies, the data do not support a positive statement on this point.

Among other cases containing analogous data is the following:

"Father used to play with the children and romp with them. He was very indulgent with the younger ones. One thing that kept father from spending too much time in handling the

children was his headaches. Along in his later years he used to be afflicted with these migraine headaches, and we had to keep the children very quiet."

This man occupied a high position in the church, requiring considerable effort to maintain the appearance of orthodoxy and adherence to the approved folkways. The report continues:

"He didn't often appear in public with two wives, except at church parties where he might take all three. He took his wives to concerts and plays by turns. These turns might not coincide with the time of his visits, but they worked out very well. For example, he would announce to Jennie, the first wife, that he was taking Julia, the second, to the concert this evening. This routine was broken at times, because of his illness. One time Julia had to be disappointed because one of his headaches came on before he was to take her to a concert. He was greatly worried over this, and sorry about having to disappoint her."

Here again, the inference must be cautious. However, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest some relationship between the father's "migraine" headaches and the rivalrous situation in which he was involved. It would be useful to know more about the occasions when his headaches interfered with his routine; the episode reported was recalled as a significant incident by the informant, and may have had certain related reverberations about which the record contains nothing.

The manifestations of "detachment"—or retreat—from the interplay of personalities in the family, noted above, were accompanied in the same and other cases by "carelessness" or "thoughtlessness" by the husband in his general day-by-day behavior in the family, so that in behaving according to his own self-centered motivations he left in his wake various situations likely to damage the security of others. This factor will now be examined.

2. *The Father's Day-by-Day Interrelations with Others.* The most significant aspects of the father's general course of dealing with others are: his methods of managing the children, favoritism to one wife, the procedure used in contracting another marriage, and his making invidious comparisons among the wives. Obviously, the husband's practices

here were closely related to his own ego-security and also affected the security of the others. The present discussion will be restricted to his relations with his wives. The community enjoined equitable treatment for all the wives, and this was exhibited as a pattern in many families. But some polygamists were unable to pursue a course of rigid equality, because of the comparative "disinterestedness" required by such a role. The man's own personality was involved because of his preferences, habituation to one wife or another, sexual interest, and avoidance of unpleasant stimuli. It was in this sphere of more intimate interaction that he could give relatively freer rein to his impulses to partisan behavior, rather than in the sphere of economic dealings. The reason for this is obvious: his distribution of economic goods among his wives was a matter of community interest. A new house, a better garden, better clothes for one wife or another—these evidences of favoritism were visible in the community and would accordingly be somewhat avoided because of social pressure. It is thus logical to expect his preferences to have been expressed in more intimate ways—more attention, less criticism, and in the whole range of subtle responses that go to increase the wife's feelings of security.

The above was the general pattern, but other factors entered as qualifications. The favored wife was unlikely to be satisfied with subtle evidences of her high status, and desired more concrete symbols. Accordingly, she eventually came into possession of superior goods also, even though her husband was conscious of the risk of community censure, and experienced increased guilt feelings at giving the appearance of keeping a mistress, a further violation of monogamous taboos. Consequently the man was involved in inner conflict—whether he should meet his wife's demands or the group's. The other wives were not passive in such a situation. What one wife received by way of prestige and material gains was denied the rest of the group, collectively or individually. Sometimes a clique among his wives arose to protect the joint interest, if there were more

than two wives; in about as many cases, however, co-operation among the wives was impossible because the potential gains were considered indivisible.

Consequently, the husband was the focal point of an unstable configuration: he was not precisely in competition with the other members of the family, but he was in possession of most of the goals they desired. He had the formidable task of satisfying them, the community, and himself; and the community supplied him with no efficient devices for accomplishing this result, beyond a few religious sanctions. In a considerable proportion of the cases, in order to resolve this situation he seems to have followed his own inclinations with some slight modifications, expecting religious and community sanctions to compose most of the difficulties for him. The tensions thus produced were of course most dramatically illustrated in the husband's act of taking another wife.

In one case, the father is reported as having been "very interested in the young girls," and married two when he was 49 and 58 years old, respectively. He seems to have transferred his attentions to the youngest wife each time, so that a sort of hierarchy of heartbreak was established in the family. A daughter of the first wife, Annie, reports that his second marriage "nearly killed mother," but after that "she didn't care how many women he married." When he married the third time, it was the second wife, Julia, who was "nearly killed"; she got little comfort from Annie, who took the occasion to remind her that now she knew how *she* felt when he married the second time. "But Julia never acted the same toward father again, and besides she always manifested a nasty attitude toward Luella, the third wife who supplanted her."

A daughter of the fifth wife of another man reported that

"Father married my mother on the anniversary of the day Aunt Ida, his first wife, died. I think Ida's children felt pretty badly about that. It was just thoughtless of him."¹¹

¹¹ The fact that such episodes became significant crises in families where they occurred indicates a defensiveness in the responses that suggests the prevalence of ego-insecurity among many family members.

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Occasionally a man was tempted to use invidious comparisons among his wives as a power device. Obviously the success of such an effort depended upon the sense of ego-security of the wife against whom it was used. It is possible that the aggressively defensive response of an insecure wife might inhibit his impulse to continue the use of the device, but here again entered the difficulty of the husband's being aware of the wife's insecurity. He might attribute her violent response to "fractiousness," or ignore it completely. Such a comparison among wives was indicated in the following:

"He didn't hesitate to criticize a wife, and especially Clara, for her housekeeping. Once he hurt her feelings severely by saying, 'Clara, I wish you'd ask Isabel how to make those hot-cakes'."

A similar occurrence was reported in the record of another family which was chronically disorganized:

The first wife was a very aggressive woman who used the device of temper tantrums to prevent her husband from giving his attention to Helen, the second wife. He chose an unfortunate occasion to make a comparison between the two: "One time when the first wife created a disturbance at a party and was being carried off to bed, father turned down the bed sheets and said, 'Well, when you turned Helen's bed down it always smelled like a laundry.' This set her off on another tantrum."¹²

It is a valid question whether the father's frequently unsympathetic attitudes toward wives and other family members were not related to inferiority attitudes arising from a sense of guilt and self-accusation. Certainly a feeling of guilt, if it could be discovered, would furnish a clue to such defense mechanisms as the "detachment" noted above, or retreat from intrafamily conflict, or "thoughtless" actions, or to defensive behavior of a more aggressive sort. A few data

¹² Her disturbances had repeatedly embarrassed her husband, and his choice of an especially sadistic way of repaying her was possibly due to this fact. His reference to his turning down the other wife's bed contained an implication that was anathema to her, who was never reconciled to the second marriage anyhow.

bearing on this matter will be considered in the next section.

3. *Defensive Behavior of the Husband and Ego-insecurity.* Ego-security strongly depends upon the ability to assume socially approved roles and to receive responses from others who have assumed complementary roles. In Mormon polygamy, however, the behavior required of the husband was completely divergent from the wider societal standards of monogamy, which, for many of these men, was still the conventional marriage role. Enough has been said above to justify some doubt that the religious sanctions and local approval—itsself incomplete—were sufficient to make an unquestioned social role out of polygamy. Consequently it may be inferred that in some respects the effectiveness of polygamy as a source of ego-security was impaired by feelings of doubt and guilt and tendencies toward self-accusation, and further, that attitudes toward wives and children might be expected often to be unsympathetic¹³ because polygamous wives and children by their very presence were assisting in the divergent behavior which caused self-accusation and guilt feelings, and should therefore share the blame.

The data yield a number of episodes which are adaptable to such an interpretation as that just suggested. These episodes were connected with extreme defensiveness on the part of the father in response to a suggestion that he should legally marry a surviving plural wife, with reluctance to appear in public with more than one wife, and with otherwise failing to recognize her. None of these instances is uncomplicated by other factors; consequently, each inference must be made tentatively and qualifiedly.

The problem of "legal" marriage to one of the survivors arose in every family where the first wife died first. The surviving plural wife was motivated in her desire for legal marriage by the dower right in the property that went with it¹⁴; the first wife's children were generally opposed to it. But this oppo-

¹³ Or perhaps, as Lois Barclay Murphy says, "speciously solicitous." *Op. cit.*, p. 188.

¹⁴ After 1887, when the Edmunds-Tucker Act was passed.

sition seems insufficient alone to explain the violence of the responses to suggestions of legal marriage exhibited in the following cases; some deeper psychological cause for the defensiveness might well be suggested.

A surviving second wife reported that "there was no legal marriage between me and him. He kicked about it like heck, and said he didn't believe in anything but a Temple marriage anyhow." Informant believes the first wife's children "influenced him against it. He wouldn't do it. The children didn't want him to because they were afraid I would get some property. But by that time there wasn't any. It had all been deeded away."

This woman's daughter had made an effort to persuade her father to marry her mother. "I remember once after Aunt Annie died I asked father why he didn't marry mother by the law of the land. He was *very* annoyed at that and told me to go home and mind my own business. He said it was his business and I shouldn't dig into it."

This family was marked by dissention for many years. The first wife was an "invalid" for 40 years. The second wife had been a housemaid in the home before her marriage and the man had married her secretly after several years of courtship. The violation of monogamous mores is especially serious because of his secretly marrying his invalid wife's young maid.

In the second example, the husband was under a strong compulsion to make a success of his marriages to three women.

He held a high position in the church, and was known to deal especially severely with men whose wives secured church divorces for mistreatment. After the death of his first wife he refused to marry either of the remaining two.

"Once in a 'joking' way the two remaining wives were talking about the then current vogue of legally marrying second and third wives, when he stormed at them: 'I don't ever want to hear you girls say *legal* again. You're both legal in the sight of God!'"

There is possibly a suggestion of "specious solicitude" in another statement he made: "I believe it would kill me if one of my wives should ever leave me."

Failure to recognize a second wife was fairly common. In many instances there seemed to be no acute necessity for secrecy.

One informant reported that his father spent

"only about 25% of the time" with the second wife, of whom the first was extremely jealous. He went into polygamy under pressure of the local church officials, and rarely appeared in public with the wife afterward; the community was small, predominantly Mormon, and isolated.

Similar reticence about the polygamous situation was exhibited by another man who also married under pressure, 30 years after his first marriage.

Until his first wife rejected him, forcing him to live with his second, the second wife was never publicly recognized although she lived near by. In his public life he tried to give the appearance of having only one wife, although few if any non-Mormons lived in the community. "When he went to parties and to church even, he and the first wife went in the buggy, and if Cecelia went, she walked.

"But when the church repudiated Plural Marriage in 1890, father fell whole-heartedly in with the officials and deplored marriages made after the Manifesto. A friend of his had four wives and was a fairly old man. Some years after the Manifesto the friend was called on a mission, and married another young woman. Father was scathing in his remarks and said the friend just hadn't waked up to what he had done, marrying this girl illegally and without the authority of the priesthood. He also said that when he waked up to what he had done he would go mad. And the man did go mad and died."

After a canvass of the available possible explanations for these episodes¹⁵ the writer feels safe in inferring the presence of acute guilt feelings as motivations for many of them. Some of them occurred during the "Crusade," when secrecy was the order of the day,¹⁶ but others occurred in relatively isolated Mormon communities at a time when there was no need for secrecy. Moreover, the necessity of avoiding a jealous explosion from the wife by making her the victor in

¹⁵ First wives were not always favored in these manifestations. In some cases later wives became their husbands' "official" hostesses, for example.

¹⁶ The Federal prosecutions introduced a complicating factor into some of these families. The danger of capture (or recapture) gave the man an unanswerable argument for spending all his time with one wife and rejecting the other.

gaining favors cannot explain many of them. They occurred about as frequently in families which were reported as "pictures of happiness" as in disorganized families. They still occur occasionally.

For example, in one family the patriarch quite recently reacted vigorously and defensively to a friend's inference that he had legally married the survivor of his three wives, with whom he still lives. He is unable to countenance the suggestion that "legality in the sight of God" was insufficient for all purposes. The record reads:

Informant was never legally married to his present wife. The bank regards him as a widower in his business dealings, although he lives with his second wife. He was greatly offended recently when he sold some land and the purchaser refused to pay for it until he had his present wife sign the conveyance with him as his legal wife.

It is impossible to present a thorough analysis of the cases described above because the data are deficient in many obvious ways. It would be useful to know a great deal more about possible guilt manifestations in polygamy; the writer suggests this subject as a fruitful field for further research in Mormonism.

IV. *Conclusion.* Study of the polygamous family presents an opportunity for applying

to a particular situation current theories in social psychology regarding the relation of personality organization to societal organization and culture. Thus the writer has attempted to show in these pages that at least as far as the particular families are concerned, the father approached the polygamous relation with monogamous expectancies, and generally experienced frustrations which prevented him from attaining genuine and unquestioned ego-security.

This account should not be taken as implying that polygamous families chronically and generally exhibited overt aggressive behavior among the members. In most of these families the members developed compensations for their frustrations, and the families over a long period of time managed to compose their difficulties and presented a united front at least to outsiders. However, the frustrations existed, and were in large measure due to conflicts of roles as described herein. And finally, although conflicts of roles due to the contrasts between monogamy and polygamy were more severe than any conflicts likely to be met in present-day society, generalizations from such data as these furnish valuable clues to the causes of family and personality problems ascribable to conflicts of roles that impede the attainment of ego-security.

RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AS A FACTOR IN MARRIAGE SELECTION: FIFTY YEAR TRENDS IN PHILADELPHIA

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Do marrying couples since World War I come from homes a greater distance apart than the couples of earlier decades? In Philadelphia more marriages were contracted between persons living within five blocks of each other in 1931 than in 1885, 1905, or 1915. Other trends within the city are not consistent. However, there seem to be practically no differences in the percentage of Philadelphians who chose mates outside the city, as between the years 1905, 1915, and 1931.

STUDIES in various aspects of propinquity as a factor in marriage selection have been made by several individuals, the most definitive of which have been made since World War I.¹ The present study is an attempt to discover what significant changes, if any, have been made in the city of Philadelphia, with reference to residential propinquity as a factor in marriage selection, over a span of approximately fifty years.

The article by Professor James H. S. Bossard which appeared in 1932 and was termed: "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection,"² dealt with Philadelphia for the year 1931. That study serves as one of the bases for comparison with the other years which have been chosen for similar investigation. As nearly as possible the same techniques have been followed in order that the data might be comparable throughout. The first 5000 marriage licenses were used in each of the years involved.

The years 1885-86, 1905, and 1915 were chosen for the following reasons: In September,

1885, Philadelphia first began to require couples desiring to be married to secure licenses. The year 1905 seems to be representative of the days just before the automobile came into popular use. Nineteen-fifteen is a year before the marriage rate was very likely to be affected by World War I. The years following that up to 1921 would show effects from the war, a slackening of marriage among some groups, hastening among others (soldier brides, etc.). Just after the war the rates of marriage increased considerably. Some of the factors involved would obviously disturb the more normally distributed influences at work in residential propinquity.

In each of the years chosen, the first 5000 consecutive marriage licenses were selected in which one or both of the applicants were residents of Philadelphia.³ Since the licensing system was first introduced in September, 1885, in order to obtain 5,000 licenses it was necessary to secure data from the year 1886 as well. Where both parties were residents of the city the distance between their addresses was tabulated in terms of city blocks. Those licenses where one applicant lived outside the city and the other inside were listed as: "one in city; one out."

The same scale of measurements of dis-

¹ See, for example, Donald M. Marvin, *Occupational Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection*, University of Pennsylvania thesis, 1918; James H. S. Bossard, *Marriage and the Child*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1940; Paul Popenoe, "Assortive Mating for Occupational Level," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, May 1937, pp. 270-274; Maurice R. Davie and Ruby Jo Reeves, "Propinquity of Residence Before Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1939, pp. 510-518.

² *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, September, 1932, pp. 219-224. This article is also in *Marriage and the Child* (see footnote (1) above).

³ Only the licenses recorded at City Hall, Philadelphia, were used, and none from the nearby towns such as was done in the Bossard study. It was not possible to secure information about licenses issued to Philadelphia couples in Media, Pa., Norristown, Pa., Elkton, Md., West Chester, Pa., Chestertown, Md. (towns listed in the Bossard study) for those earlier years of 1885-86, 1905 and 1915.

tances was used as in the 1931 study by Professor Bossard in order that they might be comparable. I quote from that investigation:

The information gathered in each case was simple, consisting merely of the addresses of the residences declared by both parties as that occupied at the time of the application for the license. The street distance was then measured on a map of Philadelphia and tabulated in terms of city blocks. In each but one type of case the distance was measured from front door to front

door. The one exception was in those few cases where the rear of two dwellings involved faced each other within the same block. Such cases were tabulated as being less than a block apart.

Since there are extreme variations in the total number of couples who listed the same address on their application blanks for the years included in this investigation (from a total of 864 couples in the year 1885-86, down to 31 in the year 1905, and up to 632 in the year 1931), Table 3 is designed to

TABLE 1. COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION BY RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AT TIME OF APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE, IN THE YEARS 1885-86, 1905, 1915, AND 1931

Number of Blocks Apart	Number of Cases				Percentage			
	1885-86	1905	1915	1931	1885-86	1905	1915	1931
Same address	864	31	145	632	17.28	.62	2.90	12.64
Same block but not same address	199	189	228	227	3.98	3.78	4.56	4.54
One to two blocks	264	239	201	304	5.28	4.78	4.02	6.08
Two to three blocks	187	254	207	210	3.74	5.28	4.14	4.20
Three to four blocks	178	230	226	155	3.56	4.60	4.52	3.10
Four to five blocks	196	180	176	151	3.92	3.60	3.52	3.02
Five to six blocks	187	190	175	119	3.74	3.80	3.50	2.38
Six to seven blocks	147	190	163	91	2.94	3.80	3.26	1.82
Seven to eight blocks	139	137	130	80	2.78	2.74	2.60	1.60
Eight to nine blocks	134	128	120	68	2.68	2.56	2.40	1.36
Nine to ten blocks	117	142	124	79	2.34	2.84	2.48	1.58
Ten to fifteen blocks	463	469	396	284	9.26	9.38	7.92	5.68
Fifteen to twenty blocks	290	321	279	197	5.80	6.42	5.58	3.94
More than twenty blocks	1,067	1,370	1,510	1,513	21.34	27.60	30.20	30.26
One in city; one out	568	910	920	890	11.36	18.20	18.40	17.80
Total	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

door. The one exception was in those few cases where the rear of two dwellings involved faced each other within the same block. Such cases were tabulated as being less than a block apart.

The block utilized as a unit of measure is one as determined by the intersection of main streets, not alleys or halfway streets. For purposes of this study, a main street is one by which the numbering of the houses changes in hundreds, as from 800 to 900 or 3300 to 3400. The length of such blocks is not constant in the street plan of Philadelphia.⁴

Table 1 indicates the comparative distribution of 5000 marriages by the numbers of blocks which separated the residences of the couples at the time of the application for a marriage license. Table 2 indicates the distribution, cumulatively.

eliminate, as far as possible, the factor of same addresses in the cumulative percentages. Therefore, the number giving the same address has been omitted, and the table starts with those living within the same block, but not at the same address.

In an effort to shed further light on the reason for the great variation in the number of same addresses listed for those years 1885-86, 1905, 1915 and 1931, a few intermediate and additional years have been chosen and the first addresses tabulated among the first 5000 applications in the years 1910, 1920, and also for 1932 and 1933. These data are presented in Table 4.

Inasmuch as one of the most striking facts that has been brought out by this study is the extreme variation in the total number

⁴ James H. S. Bossard, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221. This quotation and reproduction of data from tables in his 1931 study is with the permission of Professor Bossard and the University of Pennsylvania Press. I am also indebted to him for many valuable suggestions with reference to the present study.

TABLE 2. COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION, CUMULATIVELY, OF FIVE THOUSAND MARRIAGES BY RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AT TIME OF APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE, IN THE YEARS 1885-86, 1905, 1915, AND 1931

Number of Blocks Apart	Number of Cases				Percentage			
	1885-86	1905	1915	1931	1885-86	1905	1915	1931
Same address	864	31	145	632	17.28	.62	2.90	12.64
Within one block or less	1,063	220	373	859	21.26	4.40	7.46	17.18
Within two blocks or less	1,327	459	574	1,163	26.54	9.18	11.48	23.26
Within three blocks or less	1,514	723	781	1,373	30.28	14.46	15.64	27.46
Within four blocks or less	1,692	953	1,007	1,528	33.84	19.06	20.14	30.56
Within five blocks or less	1,888	1,133	1,183	1,679	37.76	22.66	23.66	33.58
Within six blocks or less	2,075	1,323	1,358	1,798	41.50	26.46	27.16	35.96
Within seven blocks or less	2,222	1,513	1,521	1,889	44.44	30.26	30.42	37.78
Within eight blocks or less	2,361	1,650	1,651	1,968	47.22	33.00	33.02	39.38
Within nine blocks or less	2,495	1,778	1,771	2,037	49.90	35.56	35.42	40.74
Within ten blocks or less	2,612	1,920	1,895	2,116	52.24	38.40	37.90	42.32
Within fifteen blocks or less	3,075	2,389	2,291	2,400	61.50	47.78	45.82	48.00
Within twenty blocks or less	3,365	2,710	2,570	2,597	67.30	54.20	51.40	51.94

of same addresses listed for the years studied, we shall deal with that phenomenon first. It is, moreover, basic to the rest of the discussion.

The first and most obvious question is relative to the accuracy of the original data.⁵

⁵As far as the actual copying of the records and the classification of the material is concerned, the work was done in part by the writer, and the rest by competent assistants. I wish to thank the National Youth Administration for its co-operation in furnishing several able clerical assistants for this project.

I have shown the table of the same addresses to Mr. William B. Heap, the first assistant clerk of the Orphans' Court in Philadelphia since July 15, 1922, who had very kindly made conveniently available the records of the marriage applications. He was much surprised at the extreme variations but was unable to furnish an explanation. He said: "Every effort is made to get the exact address of the applicants."

There are several explanations for the 864 couples, or 17.28 percent, who in 1885-86 listed the same address. Cumulatively these

TABLE 3. COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION, CUMULATIVELY, OF FIVE THOUSAND MARRIAGES BY RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AT TIME OF APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE, IN THE YEARS 1885-86, 1905, 1915 AND 1931 (OMITTING THOSE GIVING THE SAME ADDRESS)

Number of Blocks Apart	Number of Cases				Percentage			
	1885-86	1905	1915	1931	1885-86	1905	1915	1931
Within one block but not including same address	199	189	228	227	5.60	4.65	5.79	6.52
Within two blocks or less	463	428	429	531	12.97	10.54	10.90	15.26
Within three blocks or less	650	692	636	741	18.21	17.04	16.16	21.30
Within four blocks or less	828	922	862	896	23.20	22.71	21.90	25.76
Within five blocks or less	1,024	1,102	1,038	1,047	28.69	27.14	26.37	30.10
Within six blocks or less	1,211	1,292	1,213	1,166	33.94	31.83	33.36	33.52
Within seven blocks or less	1,358	1,482	1,376	1,257	38.06	35.11	35.44	35.14
Within eight blocks or less	1,497	1,619	1,506	1,337	41.95	39.88	38.27	38.44
Within nine blocks or less	1,631	1,747	1,626	1,405	45.11	43.04	41.32	40.39
Within ten blocks or less	1,748	1,889	1,750	1,484	48.99	46.53	44.49	42.66
Within fifteen blocks or less	2,211	2,358	2,146	1,768	61.93	58.09	54.53	50.83
Within twenty blocks or less	2,501	2,679	2,425	1,965	70.09	66.00	61.62	56.49
Within city limits	3,568	4,059	3,935	3,478	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

explanations may partially account for the rather high total percentage. In 1885, when the marriage license system began to operate in Philadelphia, there were some couples who were remarried (this was so stated on the application blank) in order that their marriages might be recorded at City Hall. Some couples had previously entered into common law marriages and they decided to have their union made more strictly legal and socially acceptable, though, in reality, of course, where common law marriage is recognized by law it is just as "legal" as that marriage performed by an accredited representative of the state, as, for example, a minister of the gospel.

Again, it is evident, from the records, that a number of men were marrying their housekeepers. (I noted this occurrence with respect to saloon keepers and butchers, particularly.) Occasionally a Negro man and woman would list the same fashionable white address. They were servants in a white family, employed and living there as butler and maid. (Neither of these last two phenomena is, of course, peculiar only to 1885-86.)

While, no doubt, some couples were living at the same boarding house, or apartment, etc., at the time of the marriage license application, I am convinced that there are cases in which couples who have listed the same address on the application blank were actually giving the address to which they were moving following the wedding day. But, perhaps, an even more important factor is that some men, coming from another section of the state to marry a Philadelphia girl, may stay at the girl's home for a few days prior to the marriage. When asked by the clerk of the Orphans' Court for his present address, the prospective bridegroom may give that of his sweetheart in Philadelphia. This information is given the clerk because the applicant regards the girl's home as *literally* his *present* address, or because he does not wish to be considered a "stranger," or he anticipates less questioning if he lists himself as a Philadelphian. There are individuals who reason in this manner. Many applicants seem to be afraid that the clerk may ask questions which will be too personal or prove

embarrassing. The legal preliminaries to getting married are mysterious and nervous tension on the part of the applicants is frequent.

Obviously, all of these explanations do not give the answer to the extreme variation in the totals for first addresses. During the years 1905 and 1920, when the listing of the same addresses was low, were the clerks in the Orphans' Court loath to accept the same address for the prospective bride and groom because "it just wouldn't look right"? Mr. Heap does not think this is a valid explanation.

If it be suggested that one reason for the comparatively high figures for 1931, 1932, and 1933 for the same premarital addresses might be the depression and the consequent doubling up of families, how can it be explained that there were almost twice the number of couples (632) giving the same address in 1931 as in 1932 when the number was 339? Moreover, both the years 1932 and 1933 were nearer the bottom of the depression spiral than was the year 1931.

Until more data are available no conclusive answer can be given for the great variation in the listing of the same addresses on the marriage application blanks.

Since the years 1885-86 and 1931 are sufficiently alike in the number of same addresses listed (there is a difference of about 5 percent), certain comparisons may be made.

1. Actually, in spite of *a priori* reasoning, there were more men in 1931 who married women within the same block (and not counting the same addresses), or one to two blocks away or two to three blocks distant than in 1885-86. In fact, except for the year 1905, in the two to three block zone, the same statement is true for all of the earlier years. (See Table 1.)

Or, using the cumulative percentages and omitting the data for the same addresses (see Table 3), it is evident that in 1931 there was more mating within five blocks than in any of the previous years studied. The percentages are: 1885-86, 28.69 percent; 1905, 27.14 percent; 1915, 26.37 percent; and 1931, 30.10 percent. Hence, whatever may be our theories about the likelihood of men

in Philadelphia marrying girls who live just around this or the other corner, the facts are that in 1931 they were slightly more inclined to concentrate their attentions on the girl who lived within five blocks than in 1885, 1905, or 1915.

2. A comparison of those living within twenty blocks at the time of marriage shows that (see Table 2) in 1885-86, 67.30 percent; and in 1931, 51.94 percent had residence within that area. That is, in terms of differences in percentages, in 1885-86, there were 15.36 percent more individuals out of 100 percent who chose their mates within twenty blocks of their own home than in the year 1931. Or it may be said that 30 (29.57) percent more couples had found their mates within twenty blocks in 1885-86 than in 1931.

3. In the cases of those who chose mates living more than twenty blocks away from their own home but still within the city limits, Table 1 reveals that, in 1885-86, 21.34 percent; and in 1931, 30.26 percent came within this classification. That actually is an increase of 56.69 percent over 1885-86.

4. In the last category, enumerating those Philadelphians who married individuals having residence outside the city, in 1885-86 their number out of the 5000 was 586, or 11.36 percent, and in 1931 there were 890, or 17.80 percent. This is an increase of 56.69 percent.

The above analysis has dealt almost entirely with the comparisons and contrasts between 1885-86 and 1931. A few may be made with respect to the trends for all of the years incorporated in this study.

5. If we exclude the first addresses (see Table 3) it is clear that, as mentioned above, there actually were more marriages in 1931 involving couples within five blocks than in the previous years. However, from 1885-86 to 1915 there was no significant change. A slightly declining number of individuals were finding their marital partners within five blocks. (In 1885-86 there were 28.69 percent; in 1905, 27.14 percent; and in 1915, 26.37 percent.) The year 1931 brought a mild reversal with 30.10 percent marrying within five blocks. It is difficult to account

for this reversal. If more intermediate years had been studied, additional points could have been charted on the trend line. However, even then the answer to the question, "Why more marriages within five blocks in 1931 than in the years before World War I?" may not have been found.

6. From six blocks to twenty blocks (see Table 3), over the years from 1885 to 1931, there is a fairly consistent trend in favor of finding mates farther from home. For those obtaining their spouses within the twenty blocks (and omitting the same addresses), the figures are: for 1885-86, 70.09 percent; 1905, 66.00 percent; 1915, 61.62 percent, and 1931, 56.49 percent.

7. Actually, (referring again to Table 3) the trend in favor of securing mates farther away from home was not as great or uniformly so between the years 1885-86 and 1905 as from 1905 to 1931. Without reference to those furnishing the same addresses, in 1885-86, 70.09 percent found their mates within twenty blocks of their own residence, and in 1905, 66.00 percent. That is a difference of about 5 (4.09) percent. In 1931, 56.49 percent married within twenty blocks. That is a drop of 9.51, or practically 10 percent less than in the year 1905. This trend is what might have been expected in view of increased means of transportation, etc.

8. However, in spite of the above paragraph, there is very little difference between the number of Philadelphians who, in 1905 and 1915, chose their mates outside of the city limits, and those who did so in 1931. Referring again to Table 1, we note that the numbers for those years who found spouses outside the city are 910, 920, and 890 respectively. This is rather curious in view of the greater mobility of the American people since World War I. The facts are certainly contrary to *a priori* assumptions.

On the possibility that an analysis of the marriage licenses granted in the surrounding towns, where one or both of the applicants were Philadelphians, might be of interest, I have made a study of the licenses granted in those towns for the years 1932 and 1933 where at least one of the parties involved

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TABLE 4. COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF FIVE THOUSAND MARRIAGES BY RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AT TIME OF APPLICATION FOR MARRIAGE LICENSE, IN THE YEARS 1885-86, 1905, 1910, 1915, 1920, 1931, 1932, AND 1933, WHERE BOTH PARTIES GAVE THE SAME ADDRESS

	1885-86	1905	1910	1915	1920	1931	1932	1933
Number of Cases	864	31	101	145	37	632	339	459
Percent	17.28	.62	2.02	2.90	7.40	12.64	6.78	9.18

gave a Philadelphia residence.⁶ These cases were included in the first 5000 licenses in the years 1932 and 1933 in Table 4. Table 5 is compiled from these data.

It will be seen that in 1932, of the first 5000 applications for marriage licenses, where at least one of the applicants resided in Philadelphia (combining the number of licenses granted in Philadelphia with the number granted in the surrounding towns), that 1038, or 20.76 percent, were granted in outside towns. In 1933 the number was slightly less, 853, or 17.06 percent. We conclude, therefore, that approximately one-fifth of the licenses granted in those years to Philadelphians involved in this study were granted outside of the city itself.

Of this number who did secure licenses in the surrounding towns, in 1932, 224, or 21.58 percent, said that one of the parties lived in Philadelphia and the other without. In 1933, 212, or 24.85 percent, were so listed. If we assume that the year 1931 was not greatly different from 1932 and 1933 with respect to this type of application, then, using the total number in the year 1931, who listed one as living in the city and the other outside, or 890, as representative, then about 212 or 224 of those secured their licenses outside the city. That is, approxi-

mately 25 percent of the individuals listing themselves as one in the city and one out, secure their licenses outside of Philadelphia.

It is rather interesting, and certainly in line with what might have been anticipated, that in those cases where couples do secure

TABLE 5. COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF FIVE THOUSAND MARRIAGES BY RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY BEFORE MARRIAGE: CASES INVOLVING AT LEAST ONE RESIDENT OF PHILADELPHIA WHERE LICENSE WAS OBTAINED IN ONE OF SURROUNDING TOWNS IN THE YEARS 1932 AND 1933

	Number of Cases		Percentage	
	1932	1933	1932	1933
Total cases in surrounding towns	1,038	853	20.76*	17.06*
Among this total, those who gave same Philadelphia address	32	35	3.08	4.10
Among above total, those who gave one Philadelphia address and one outside	224	212	21.58	24.85
Total of 5,000 securing license in Phila.	3,962	4,147		
Among these, number who gave same Philadelphia address	307	459	7.49	10.22

* Percentage of the 5000 cases.

their licenses outside of Philadelphia, that proportionately very few list the same Philadelphia address. That is, whereas 32 couples of the total of 1038, who applied for a license in surrounding towns (or 3.08 percent) listed the same address, of the 3962 who went to City Hall in Philadelphia for their license, 307 (or 7.49 percent) listed the same address, of the 3,962 who went to City Hall in Philadelphia for their license, 307 (or 7.49 percent) listed the same address. In 1933

⁶ The Pennsylvania towns included are: Media, West Chester, Norristown, and Doylestown. Those from Maryland are: Elkton, Chestertown, Belair, Annapolis, Salisbury, and Snow Hill. In Professor Bossard's compilation for 1931, licenses granted in outside towns to Philadelphians were included in the 5000 cases. This was not possible for the years 1885-86, 1905, and 1915. I consulted Professor Bossard with reference to the possibility of studying his original data on the out of town marriages for 1931, but he discovers that, since there was no particular reason to keep the cards on which the original data were recorded, they had been discarded a couple of years ago.

there were 35 (or 4.10 per cent) of the 853 couples who applied in the surrounding towns who gave the same address. Of those 4147 who applied at City Hall, 424 gave the same address. That is 10.22 percent. In other words, in the years 1932 and 1933, of those who applied in Philadelphia for a license (where at least one of the parties was a resident of the city) about two and one-half times more of them listed the same address than did these applicants who went to outside towns in order to secure a marriage license.

From the foregoing array of data the following facts seem to be clear:

Over a period of practically fifty years there has been a wide variation from year to year in the number of couples who furnish the same residence address when applying for a marriage license. The lowest figure was 31 and the highest 864. The reason for this phenomenon is certainly obscure.

In the year 1931, omitting the puzzling data for the same addresses, actually a higher proportionate number of Cupid's arrows took effect within five blocks than in the horse and buggy days and those just prior to World War I. Is this because boys and girls in the older more stable neighborhoods are marrying their childhood playmates? Or, is it because in highly mobile neighborhoods, the girls (and the boys) close to home are apt to be quite new and alluring and the enchantment is apt to lead to the altar?

In the years 1905 and 1915 actually more individuals, proportionately, secured mates outside the city than in the later year of 1931. There seems to be no plausible explanation for this fact.

There can be no doubt that, as with most data derived from source materials the com-

plete accuracy of which is open to question (as with the census returns, for example), there is an element of error. Just what the margin of error might be could not be determined without enormous expense, and this could not be justified. If more data were gathered perhaps some of the points in question might be cleared up, but there is certainly no assurance of that.

At the present time it seems evident that certain of the older assumptions about changes in mate selection, with reference to the factor of residential propinquity, cannot be maintained, at least without considerable modification. The thesis that individuals are now (at least up to World War II) finding their mates on the average farther away from the home fireside than in the days of 1905 and 1915 is, obviously, not supported by the facts. As far as Philadelphia is concerned, there were proportionately more marriages contracted in 1931 between those individuals living within five blocks than in those older days when the fathers and mothers and many of the grandparents of the present college generation did their courting. In the five to twenty block area there is a slightly greater trend in the opposite direction.

Another assumption that more Philadelphians around the year 1931 (which is before the disastrous depression years) were marrying persons living outside the city than in the earlier years of 1905 and 1915 is also not supported by the evidence.

In addition to the information presented in this study, perhaps an additional value may be in making us more cautious in the presentation of certain types of sociological "common sense" assumptions as truth until the subject matter has been more carefully investigated.

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FAMILY TABLE TALK—AN AREA FOR SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY*

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

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Family table talk is an essential part of the process whereby the family inducts the child into the life of society. Three aspects of this process are emphasized.

(1) The family meal is the family at its ease, holding its members together and repeating many features of its life. (2) Family table talk is a form of family interaction, important in the development of personality traits. (3) The culture-transmitting function of the family operates with effectiveness during the family meal.

HOW THE child is inducted into the family, and how, in turn, the family inducts the child into the larger group, are two basic social processes whose general importance is conceded universally, but whose mechanism remains as yet largely unexplored. This paper is a preliminary study of what it is believed is an essential part of those processes: namely, the role and nature of family table talk.

The history of the application of the scientific method is replete with long-delayed recognition of "acres of diamonds" at the front door step, and the failure of students of family processes to perceive the scientific possibilities in the study of the family meal is but another illustration in point. Various non-scientific groups have been less tardy. Religion has long recognized the intimate importance of the family meal. Christianity immortalizes it in the ceremonial of the Last Supper, and renews this recognition endlessly in the continuance of the communion rite. Dramatists stage it with frequent effectiveness. To the novelist, it is a constant device for character delineation or plot facilitation. Even the essayists, like Dr. Holmes, clothe their sage observations around the framework of the breakfast table. Only psychiatrists, sociologists, and students of child development, concerned with the minutiae of family life, seem to have overlooked it.

Students of family and child problems may regard family table talk from two main points of view. One is as a form of family interaction. Here the concern is with the

relationships between the personalities in the family group, with particular reference to the functioning and formation of personal traits. Also, so far as the children are concerned, there is a good deal of emphasis upon habit formation, such as habits of eating, sitting, speaking and the like. A second approach sees the family meal as a vehicle for the transmission of the family culture to its younger members. Here the chief point of interest is on the role and techniques of family table talk in this continuing process. Before proceeding to the two main points of view just identified, certain general considerations concerning the social nature of the family meal should be noted. Accordingly, the main body of this paper is presented in three parts: the first dealing then with the social nature of the family meal; second, its analysis as a form of family interaction; and third, its role in the transmission of the family culture to its younger members.

I. THE SOCIAL NATURE OF THE FAMILY MEAL: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. The family meal is a distinct aspect of the family's life. Warner and Lunt have called attention¹ recently to the fact that the two rooms in which the family spends most time as a group are the living and the dining

* Author's Note: This is an inductive study, based on a collection of documents which reproduce verbatim family conversations at mealtime.

¹ Warner, W. Lloyd, and Lunt, Paul, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941, p. 105.

rooms. Of the two, the dining room and the family meal are confined, except on definitely recognized occasions, to the intimate participation of the family group. In upper class families, large and attractive living rooms, combined with more leisure, tend to emphasize the greater importance of the living room; in lower class families, the opposite of these facts makes the dining room often the more important, or the only social center of the household.

2. It is at the dining table, and particularly at dinner time, that the family is apt to be at its greatest ease, both physically and psychologically. The times when the family is at its best are perhaps most often on the occasion of its more leisured dining, just as the family, entertaining at the dining table is the family on exhibition, putting its best foot forward. One is reminded here of the comment of Dr. Holmes that a dinner party of proper intellectual elements "is the last triumph of civilization over barbarism. Nature and art combine to charm the senses; the equatorial zone of the system is soothed by well-studied artifices; the faculties are off duty, and fall into their natural attitudes; you see wisdom in slippers and science in a short jacket."²

This more felicitous generalization about the family meal does not mean to overlook the fact, however, that the family meal also represents at times the family in haste, operating with direct bluntness, or the family at war, disturbing the emotions of its members and upsetting the gastric process. The family meal, in short, represents the family in action, focussed upon a common interest and a task so absorbing as to leave it operate offguard in other important respects.

3. The family meal, especially the main one of the day, holds the members of the family together over an extended period of time. The length of time, and the details of the occasion, naturally vary from one family to another, but, in general, a meal is an extended session of the family personnel, with a relatively high rate of attendance.

² Holmes, Oliver Wendell, *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, James Osgood and Company, Boston, 1878, p. 71.

Meal time is the family council time, particularly today when under stress of the differing interests of its various members, it is apt not to get together at any other time. Family prayer time and family councils both are found to a lessening extent in contemporary society.

4. It is significant, in any attempt to appraise the social significance of the family meal, to recall that its role is one of continuing repetition. Many families meet around the table three times a day, most families do so at least once a day. Over a period of years, the simple arithmetic of the situation is enough to emphasize its quantitative effectiveness.

5. Finally, it is obvious that the social significance of the family meal, and the role of table talk, varies from one social class to another. Referring again to Warner and Lunt, who concerned themselves so largely with class and status systems, we are reminded that:

... meals in the home have different values which depend upon the social status of the family. The upper-class family, for instance, spends more time over its breakfast and endows this meal with more group significance than do families in other classes.

In upper-class families there are generally servants to perform a large part of the secular household ritual through their daily rounds of tasks and duties which keep the house in order. The mistress of the house ordinarily supervises the activities of her servants, but she does not herself do any of the actual work. However, she and other members of the family perform definite ritual acts which top off the work of their paid employees; arranging flowers; carving at table; lighting the fire; and pouring at tea. Maids serve at the table according to a strictly formalized routine, while the food is prepared by a cook hired especially for that work. Maids are outfitted in uniforms of different types according to the time of day and the specific duties in which they are engaged, their dress symbolizing their subordination to and separation from the family whom they serve. The leisure time accruing to the family that can maintain servants allows more frequent performance of social activities which bring them conspicuously to the attention of the remainder of the community, and the men indulging in a

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variety of sports, intellectual interests and hobbies, and community activities by means of which they express and constantly reaffirm their social position.

All of the activities which surround the preparation of the table and the serving and eating of the meal are demonstrations of ritual relations between members of the family, the servants, and objects which have esthetic and traditional value in the house. They are also expressions of the meal as a family communion. Non-members of the immediate family—such as collateral kin and clique members—who are invited in to eat at the family table may be said to participate in the "private communion" of the family and household, a secular but highly organized ritual. These ritual elements surrounding the daily life within a household tend to increase in number and intensity of function with the height of the stratification of the family.³

II. TABLE TALK AS A FORM OF FAMILY INTERACTION

The role of the group in the determination of personality is a recognized sociological dictum. The primary character of the family as a group, and its fundamental importance in the development of personal traits, particularly of children, is equally well established. From what has been said concerning the social nature of family table talk, it is obvious that much of the family's interactive process takes place during the family meal. Certain aspects of this process call for special comment.

1. The individual's role in the family group comes to be clearly defined around the family table. Since the entire family is together, relationships between individual members are brought out into the open. Feuding members are seated at opposite sides of the table, for example. Covenants secretly arrived at become manifest. Group choices are made—in seating arrangements, in the serving of food, in the assignment of left-overs, in priorities in conversation.

2. The family is an audience for individual performance, chiefly conversational. Through these performances, family members reveal, and try out, their abilities on each other.

One is reminded here again of Dr. Holmes' observation that "there are little-minded people whose thoughts move in such small circles that five minutes of conversation gives you an arc long enough to determine their whole curve." Even silences in table talk are an important part of its art. Again Holmes reminds us that "talking is like playing on the harp, there is as much in laying the hand on the strings to stop their vibration, as in the twanging them to bring out the music."

3. This table audience, both in responses which it gives and which it withholds, to its individual members, carries the greatest weight in the moulding of personal traits. Its intimate nature and repetitive force make it often the family's best corrective disciplinarian. Children especially are frank, often quite brutally so, in their reactions to one another, and perhaps nowhere are they so with as much self-assurance as under the protective custody of the family meal.

This is the place to refer to the habit of family squabbling at meal time, so characteristic of many families. There are families in which few meals are completed without a quarrel or without some member leaving the table in tears, anger, or disgrace. There are families where the family meal is a tribunal or disciplinary workshop rather than a ceremonial. Children are called on the carpet for misdeeds, lectured in regard to policies of behavior, or nagged constantly about table manners.

It is pertinent to question the physiological effect of this upon the digestive processes and through them upon the entire chemistry of the body. Recent analyses of such processes by students of physiological chemistry point to the overwhelming importance of emotional upsets at mealtime. How your stomach "flops" when upset around mealtime is an experience which many persons may be able to recall. Consider also the family in which there is a good deal of tension between adult members. The family meal may come to be a duel of silence with marked physiological as well as psychiatric effects.

4. One of the distinctive services of family interaction at mealtime is the development

³ Warner and Lunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

of the symbols of expression, particularly again those of the children. All members of the family participate in family table talk—from the youngest to the oldest and most erudite. Through this process, the family members enlarge one another's vocabulary. Children particularly gain symbols to use in learning and in speaking. Much of the learning of the precise meaning of words comes as a by-product to participation in family conversation. In other words, the family meal is a class in oral expression. In a family of any size, meals come to be gab-fests. Two or three persons may be talking at the same time. Facility and quickness in expression constitute the price for admittance to the conversation.

5. The family meal represents the family's interaction in its most democratic mood. Now, more than other times, the younger members get a chance to blossom verbally. Well-fed elders accept with impunity remarks from juveniles which otherwise would not be tolerated. Side conferences prevail also while the main program continues.

6. The family meal is a kind of personality clinic, with both students and clients in attendance. Particularly is this true if the family is of any considerable size. Each member comes to be analyzed, dissected, catalogued, and processed by the other members. This procedure is all the more devastating because it goes on before the entire group. Undesirable traits and personal weakness may be particularly identified and castigated.

7. Table talk serves a definite purpose in aiding children to learn the relative role of the parents and adults in the family. Aunt Minnie jabbars away, does three-fourths of the talking, says little and tends to be disregarded in family decisions. Mother defers to Daddy as a rule, but takes an emphatic stand at times. Daddy talks very little at the table. Even when Mother and Aunt Minnie correct the children, they turn to him for support. Repeatedly they suggest to him that he take disciplinary measures. Defiance to him is constant and repeated. But father is silent, his face is immobile. His few words to the children at the table, or even

a look, suffice. The stereotype of the strong, silent father has been created. Under no circumstances could the full length process of this creation be so effectively imprinted upon the child's mind as at meal time. A family meal, in other words, is like the scene from a drama in which the personalities identify themselves to each other.

III. FAMILY TABLE TALK AND THE TRANSMISSION OF CULTURE

Sociologists agree that the family is the chief culture-transmitting agency in our society. The family not only introduces the child to its own particular culture, but also to that of the larger society. In this latter capacity, it not only interprets this larger culture, but creates also attitudes toward it. Much of this happens as a by-product of family table talk. In this process the following aspects may be identified.

1. The family meal, particularly the dinner one, is the clearing house for most of the family's information, news and experiences. Jack tells about the substitute teacher; Jane about the neighboring girl's new coat; Daddy refers to the fact that Mr. Davis is complaining about the number of government questionnaires, and threatens to go out of business; Mother thinks that Bill is going down with the grippe. The family dining table is like a crossroads, through which flows the news of the world as the respective members of the family see it and experience it. Much of this traffic of information and ideas flows swiftly and unobtrusively past, noticed more in its absence than in its presence, but it is there for all to see, hear, and assimilate.

2. The family meal is constantly serving as a forum for the discussion of matters of interest and concern to the family members. Questions are asked, answered, or evaded in turn. The range of topics covered may be wide and varied, or monotonous in the recurrence of a few items of interest. Significant for all are the topics meticulously avoided as well as those assiduously discussed. The selection of topics for the family forum is in itself a cultural choice.

Considered as a forum, the family meal may take several different forms. First, it

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may be quite formal. Questions are obviously posed, and discussion patently stimulated. One well-known member of the judiciary, known to the author, followed for years the practice of stating a proposition at the beginning of each dinner meal which his six children were asked to analyze and debate between soup and demitasse. Second, the meal time forum may be informal and spontaneous. This is much more frequently the case. Questions arise in the course of the family conversation, and the discussion proceeds out of the fulness of the heart rather than from the prodding of the parent. Topics tend to succeed each other in kaleidoscopic fashion, and the argumentation most often is both brief and direct. Finally the family forum is often entirely incidental, scarcely recognized as such, in which views are expressed in a word, a silence or facial expression. Each family tends to have its own words, phrases, idioms, grimaces, signs, gestures and the like, eloquent with meaning to all the family members even if somewhat unintelligible to outsiders.

3. The family meal serves constantly as an evaluating conference, especially on the experiences, needs and interests of the family members. There is group discussion. Individual views are expressed, modified and reconciled often as a family judgment, choice, decision or attitude emerges. Arrived at experimentally in democratic conference, or imposed by an autocratic parent, these evaluations are absorbed on the basis of their emotional relations to the family, so that the line between the two may often be quite indistinct.

So far as the induction of the child into the culture of the family is concerned, this evaluating process in family table talk serves two purposes which Dr. Holmes long ago suggested in his "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" as the requirements for satisfactory conversation. One of these is agreement upon the ultmata of belief; the other upon the secondary questions depending upon these ultimate beliefs. In other words, table talk not only inducts the child into the fundamental idea-patterns and values of the family culture, but also, because of the concrete

nature of this process, clarifies the concrete applications which arise therefrom.

4. The family meal serves often as a substitute for class-room instruction. This happens in several ways. First, there are the well known staged conversations—as a rule for the benefit of the younger children. Says Mother: "I heard today about a little boy who ran across the railroad tracks"; to which Father replies quite seriously: "I am glad that my children don't do things like that." Or Mother refers to a visit from Mrs. Terry and her daughter, who was very polite. "Oh, yes," says Father, "You can tell that she is going to be quite an attractive young lady."

Again "lessons" for class instruction may be raised by one of the children. Helen, aged twelve, tells of a neighbor's child, that proverbial and perennial scapegoat. Father, who is envious of the neighboring father's business success, expresses himself freely concerning the conduct of his daughter. Mother, who dislikes the neighboring mother, is equally heated. Helen, without understanding the motives involved, is quite impressed. The neighboring girl's conduct *was* reprehensible.

Finally, many of the lessons of the family meal school are unplanned and spontaneous. "Katie kissed John," pipes up the well-known little brother, and in the wake of this disclosure may follow either an eloquent silence, or a colorful discussion concerning kissing, John's intentions, John's job, Katie's prospects, and mother's attitude toward early marriages. These are perhaps the most common grist in the family round-the-table mill, as it grinds, now slowly, now rapidly, but always exceedingly fine.

5. Akin to these pedagogic functions are the stimulation and direction of the child's interests. If a child has literary, or artistic, or mechanical interests, family table talk does much to stimulate or dampen the development of such interests. One is reminded again of Dr. Holmes: "Writing or printing is like shooting with a rifle; you may hit your reader's mind, or miss it—but talking is like playing at a mark with the pipe of an engine; if it is within reach, and you have time enough, you can't help hitting it."⁴

⁴Ibid., p. 30.

In many respects, family table talk may be likened to a university seminar on family culture, continuing over a number of semesters. Both are similar in that there are designated reports (at times unscheduled), criticisms which vary with the prestige of the reporter, exchange of viewpoints, and the boredom of the more sophisticated members of the group. There is teaching too, and inculcation of viewpoint, but these grow more out of the give and take of informal discussion than out of formal admonition. As is the case in most seminars, the discussion often rambles; assigned topics are disregarded; the procedure departs from the program which the seminar master (instructor or parent as the case may be) has devised; and seminar members leave the table before the discussion is concluded. Finally, too, the ultimate effects are, for the most part, subtly devious and intangible.

IV. COMMON ILLUSTRATIONS OF CULTURE TRANSMISSION THROUGH FAMILY TABLE TALK

1. Much of the family's sense of economic values, and the child's training in them, are indicated in the following sentences appearing repeatedly in the case material upon which this article is based.

"Go easy on the butter, it's fifty cents a pound."

"Eggs are sixty cents a dozen now."

"Bill's shoes have to be soled."

"What, again? Why I just paid two dollars for soles three weeks ago."

"I think you ought to be ashamed to waste bread when thousands of Chinese children are starving."

"Mother, Mary soiled her new dress."

"Well, she had better take care of it. We can't buy another until after Christmas."

It is the absorption of values of this kind, so constant in normal family life, which constitutes such a big gap in the training of the child reared in an institution.

2. Political attitudes crystallize early in children's minds as a by-product of table conversations such as the following one.

Bill: "Mother, Jack made \$1.05 playing the machine down at Louey's store."

Mother: "Jack had better get a job after school instead of playing the machines."

Father: "Well, Jack comes by that honestly. His old man is a gambler if there ever was one."

Older Sister: "There must be money in it. I saw Mrs. Haggerty (Jackie's mother) and she had one of those new fur coats on."

Mother: "Why don't they raid Louey's place. I saw in the paper about some judge saying they (the machines) were illegal."

Father: "Guess the police are fixed."

Bill looks at his father, apparently not wholly clear on what was implied.

Mother: "Bill, that shirt has got to go into the wash."

Father: "Hank O'Brien was telling me yesterday that the police 'take' on these machines ran into thousands of dollars a week. He said the lieutenant drove a Cadillac Coupe to work, but parked it two blocks away from the station house."

Light seemed to dawn on Bill as he finished his dessert. The boy next door entered the house and Bill rushed from the table.

3. Multiple implications for the child of what may seem to the parents but a routine conversation appears from the following:

Father: "Well, I'm sorry, but I forgot to bring home some whiskey for the cocktails tomorrow night."

Mother: "It's all right, I don't think we better serve cocktails."

Father: "How come?"

Mother: "Well, the Pearsons are coming, and you know him."

Son: "Is Dr. Pearson coming, mother, is he? Is he, mother?"

Mother: "Yes he is, and Mrs. Pearson is coming too."

Daughter: "Why don't we serve cocktails when Dr. Pearson comes?"

Mother: "Well, Dr. Pearson is a doctor, and he thinks cocktails aren't good for people. He says too many people have the cocktail habit."

Son: "I like Dr. Pearson."

Father: "Well, I like him, too. But this means a stupid party." (This to wife.)

Mother: "I think I'll serve tomato juice. Do you think that will be all right? The red

glasses will look nice on that black tray."

Father: "If Pearson doesn't want to drink, that's O.K. with me, but I don't see why that should spoil the party for the rest of us."

Mother: "Well, I do think out of deference to his views, we should have a dry dinner."

Son: "I like Dr. Pearson. Is he a good doctor, mother?"

This conversation carries these implications for the children: (a) A doctor whom I like does not approve of the social use of alcohol; (b) Father thinks a dry party is dull; (c) Mother sees her obligation as a hostess; (d) A difference of opinion is re-

solved with deference to a guest, regardless of the wishes of the host and hostess. There is no preaching, no moralizing. All the ideas are transmitted in a matter of fact way, incidental to a table conversation, chiefly between the parents, concerning a small dinner party.

V. CONCLUSION

This paper purports to be a tentative report on an initial study. It seeks to stake out an area for sociological investigation, and to set up temporarily a frame of reference for future study. Its thesis is that the area and the process involved are of primary importance.

STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

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The image which a person holds regarding another may be the result, or it may be rather the cause, of his attitude toward the other. False images often come from genuine illusions, errors of judgment, or social defamation, and are not always "rationalizations" of pre-existing love or hostility. Interpersonal misunderstandings do not automatically correct themselves but may become chronic and reciprocal, the persons adjusting their behavior in various ways to the false images. The current emphasis on rationalization tends to overlook these processes. [Ed.]

THE FOLLOWING remarks refer to certain basic facts which may appear to be quite obvious. However, experience shows that they are very often overlooked, or at least neglected, in social psychological research concerning interpersonal relations. It is even not improbable that these basic facts are overlooked, or neglected, *not in spite* but rather *because* they are so obvious. For nothing tends to escape our attention so completely as that which is taken for granted. And it was just the ability of perceiving certain "obvious" but nevertheless neglected facts which has often paved the way for important discovery and research in many fields of social science. Thus, making explicit certain allegedly obvious facts concerning interpersonal relations, may, after all, turn out to be of far-reaching importance for a realistic understanding of the phenomena here under discussion.

Three "aspects" of interpersonal relations. We can understand interpersonal relations, and determine their structure and dynamics, only if we approach them with perspective vision. Every interpersonal relation offers three aspects. Consequently, we have always to ask three questions with reference to any relation which we attempt to analyze.

Let us assume that we are investigating the relationship between Mr. A. and Mr. B. We have then to answer the following three questions:

1. What does this relation mean, as it presents itself to Mr. A?

2. What does this same relation mean, as it presents itself to Mr. B?

3. What is the content of this relation if we confront its meaning as experienced from the point of view of Mr. A with its meaning as experienced from the point of view of Mr. B? The congruence, or incongruence, of those two aspects affects deeply the dynamic of the given relation, and its different conflicts and transformations.¹ The following concrete example will clarify these facts.

Let us, then, assume that Mr. A, motivated either by his own suspicious character, or by the influence of his suspicious wife, Mrs. A, believes mistakenly that his colleague, Mr. B, is intriguing against him in his office. Being rather an easy-going, timid man he does not react with aggressiveness towards B. He prefers to solve the emerging conflict-situation by avoiding all contacts with Mr. B, as far as possible. On his part, Mr. B, whose inferiority feeling has been aggravated by his reading some helpful articles about "How to fight inferiority feelings successfully," misinterprets the reserved attitude of A as an expression of A's looking down upon him, and he, too, becomes reserved.

If, now, we approach the relation obtaining between Mr. A and Mr. B in terms of those

¹ See my article "The Image of the Other Man," *Sociometry*, July, 1940, especially the distinction between the concepts of "expression" and "impression" which explains why a certain amount of discrepancy between the two aspects here under discussion is inevitable in interpersonal relations.

three aspects, we can characterize this relation as follows:

1. The meaning of this relation as it presents itself to Mr. A is: "defensive attitude on his own part—avoidance of all contacts with B—experienced as reaction to the intrigues of Mr. B."

2. The meaning of the same relation as it presents itself to Mr. B is: "defensive attitude experienced as consequence of Mr. A's looking down upon him."

3. The meaning of the relation in objective terms, i.e., if we confront each of the meanings with the other is: "misunderstanding, arising out of reciprocal misinterpretations."

On the basis of this three-dimensional analysis, we may make the prognosis that the further development of the relation between A and B will be deeply affected by the discrepancies and misunderstandings involved, and that, unless a clarification of the initial distortion is achieved, it will in all probability lead to ever increasing reciprocal misinterpretations.²

It is perhaps worth while to mention at this point that H. G. Mead's approach to the phenomena of interpersonal relations was somewhat vitiated by an implicit optimistic assumption. Mead assumed that the basic mechanisms in interpersonal relations do function quite adequately, and that we have therefore only to make explicit how they function. He did not realize that social psychological misinterpretations of every description play an enormous role, and that the content of interpersonal relations is the result of a very complicated interplay of mutual understanding, non-understanding, and misunderstanding. The elements of non-understanding and misunderstanding which are involved are by no means an exception; they are rather an essential factor in the dynamic of interpersonal relations.³

² It is an important fact of social psychology that misinterpretations and misunderstandings, once arisen, tend to multiply and to increase, unless the initial deviation is rectified.

³ The author's approach to these problems, presented in many of his papers, is akin to the approach of Harry S. Sullivan as presented in his "Study of Interpersonal Relations," *Psychiatry*, 1938/1. Perhaps the most penetrating analysis of misunderstand-

Attitudes and images as basic elements in interpersonal relations. The concept of attitudes has attained in modern social psychology a paramount importance. This, in turn, may be due to the fact that social psychologists, mainly concerned with the socialization of the individual on the one hand, and with different forms of collective behavior on the other hand, tend to neglect the structure and dynamics of interpersonal relations.

Yet, to approach and to analyze interpersonal relations in terms of attitudes only means to misunderstand their very nature. This, too, may be an "obvious" fact; but again one which is often overlooked in its far-reaching social psychological implications.

To define the attitudes which two individuals, A and B, take with regard to each other is meaningless if we do not define simultaneously the images which they have in their minds about each other. To say, for instance, that A and B hate or admire or despise each other may be very significant as far as the psychology of the personality of A on the one hand, and of B on the other hand is concerned. But if the subject-matter of our analysis is the interpersonal relation *between* A and B, then such statement remains one-sided, and even misleading, as long as we have not determined what images they have in their minds about each other. The interpersonal significance of an attitude depends on the content of the image of the other person to which it refers. Thus, if we wish to understand interpersonal relations we have to take both attitudes *and* images into account.

Between attitudes and images in interpersonal relations there exists a very complicated interdependence. Mr. A may, for instance, have a distorted image of Mr. B, because his attitude towards B is one of hate. In this case the dynamic of the attitude determines the content of the image. However, also the opposite may be true. Mr. A may hate Mr. B because, by some external

ings in interpersonal relations is contained in W. Stok: *Geheimnis, Luege und Missverstaendnis*, Muenchen, 1929.

reason—for instance, by some kind of defamation—his image about B is distorted. What A hates is not B “himself” but the image of B which he has in his own mind. In this case the image is the dynamic factor, and the attitude is its result.

The situation here under discussion is still more complicated by different types of rationalizations and self-deceptions which are operative in this field. So, for instance, the “enemy” must be conceived as a “bad man.” Otherwise we could not have a good conscience in trying to destroy him. However, as will be pointed out below, we should be cautious not to succumb to the fallacy of interpreting *everything* in terms of “rationalizations.” By doing so, we would badly underestimate the amount of *genuine* illusions and errors in judgments permeating the field of interpersonal relations.⁴

Thus, again, in order to understand structure and dynamics of interpersonal relations we must always know both the attitudes *and* images which are involved on both sides. Unfortunately, social psychology sins heavily at present against this principle. This, in turn, leads to different misinterpretations of the relevant facts. So, for instance, many conflicts in interpersonal relations are *not*, as is often supposed, results of hostile (“aggressive”) attitudes with reference to each other, but rather the result of distorted images which both partners have in their minds about each other. Certainly, very often distorted images and misinterpretations are consequences of conscious or unconscious hostilities. But also the opposite is often true: many hostilities are the consequence of distorted images and misinterpretations.

If, to use an example, an anti-semitic Gentile has in his mind the stereotyped image of the Jew as a “parasite” or “swindler,” and acts towards the Jews accordingly, then *from his point of view*, he does not “persecute,” he does not commit “aggression,” but does rather “defend himself,” or does “lib-

erate the world from an evil thing.” This is the psychological meaning of his action as it presents itself to him; and it does not matter whether his view has any objective foundation.

The social psychologist who, according to his own frame of reference, interprets this action as “persecution” or “aggression,” imputes in this case motives which actually do not exist. If, however, our psychoanalytically-minded psychologist would persist in maintaining that the *real* motive was aggression, and those other motives are only rationalizations, then by doing so he would prove only how thoroughly he is blinded to the role played by *genuine* illusions, misunderstandings, and errors of judgment in human motivations.

Certainly, often an individual who commits an act of aggression may rationalize and deceive himself as well as others into believing that he was “actually” motivated by the necessity of self-defense. The same may be true of a group. However, it is equally true that sometimes the opposite may happen: an act of real self-defense may be misinterpreted by the opponent as an act of aggression, and the real motivation brought into disrepute by saying that it is only a “rationalization.” The social psychologist must be on guard not to fall victim of the second error in trying to escape the first one.

Framework of images in interpersonal relations. However, it is not enough to realize that attitudes *and* images constitute essential elements in all interpersonal relations, and that it is meaningless to characterize the attitudes involved, without characterizing simultaneously the images to which they refer. We have, furthermore, to realize that there exists always a *whole framework* of images, and that each image has a definite place and function in this framework.

The following chart may be helpful in clarifying this framework of images. It should, however, not be taken too rigidly. We insert it here only in the hope that it might introduce a certain amount of order into the rather confused field of these phenomena. The chart contains six parallel questions which one should always ask in ana-

⁴We speak of *genuine* illusions and errors of judgment if they do *not* have any emotionally relevant disguising or repressing function.

lyzing the framework of images which are at the bottom of a given relation.

Individual A

1. *Image a'*
How does A see himself with reference to his relation to B?
2. *Image a''*
How does A believe himself to be seen (appreciated, etc.) by B?
3. *Image a'''*
How does A see B, or some facts related to B?

Individual B

1. *Image b'*
How does B see himself with reference to his relation to A?
2. *Image b''*
How does B believe himself to be seen (appreciated, etc.) by A?
3. *Image b'''*
How does B see A, or some facts related to A?

The functioning of a given interpersonal relation depends on how these different images are attuned to each other, and to the facts to which they refer. Different kinds of discrepancies between the images themselves, or the images and the facts to which they refer, tend to produce different kinds of tensions and disturbances in the given relationship.

Thus, for instance, the relation between A and B may be disturbed either because A (or B) does not see himself as he really is; or because A (B) does not see himself as he is seen by B (A); or, because A (B) does not realize that he is not seen by B (A) as

he sees himself; or, because A (B), or both, have a distorted image about each other; etc.

It would, however, be a grave misconception to assume that tensions in interpersonal relations which arise as results of distorted images in the mind of the partners are being normally re-adjusted through a rectification of those images which have the distorting effect. Sometimes, of course, this is the case. But very often the process of "readjustment" is achieved by quite different mechanisms: not the images are rectified according to the facts to which they refer, but rather the persons concerned adapt themselves to the distorted images—either to the image which they have in their own mind, or to the image in the mind of the partner.

This re-adjustment, to be sure, is often only an external one, and does not embrace deeper strata of the personality. Either A, or B, or both, have to pay a certain psychological price in order to maintain on this basis the given relationship in a working condition. Whether, and under which conditions, this psychological price is worth being paid, constitutes a problem which transcends the scope of these remarks on the structure and dynamics of interpersonal relations.

EVALUATIONS AND VALUES CONSISTENT WITH THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF SOCIETY*

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The non-evaluative approach of the social scientist is subjected to critical examination here. When viewed as means or as ends in the social process, data may be evaluated by the scientist. Moreover, the outlook and the ideals of science itself are linked to a definite ethical context. The creed of ethical neutrality developed in a liberal culture, but contemporary attacks upon liberalism have led to a consciousness of the ethical basis of scientific endeavor.

THE DISTINCTION between *what is* and *what ought to be* is a commonplace of sociological thought. The usual view is that the science of sociology deals with the former, while the latter constitutes the forbidden area of ethics and morals. Science explains how various forces interact to produce a result; evaluative thought, on the other hand, passes judgment in terms of desirability and undesirability, and such evaluations may provide the basis for purposive "interference" with the operation of the given forces. Science is "objective," whereas evaluation is "subjective." Yet this apparently simple dichotomy is in reality far more complex than is usually assumed. It raises a number of issues which go straight to the roots of the social sciences.

What is meant by the statement that sociology is concerned exclusively with *what is*? It means that studies must be confined to a description and explanation of social phenomena, that is, how particular conditions happen to exist as the resultants of various interacting factors. So far the scientific method can go and no farther. The evaluation of consequences is left to social philosophers, demagogues, and all others

with the audacity to pass ethical judgments. These latter types are not satisfied to view society with non-evaluative detachment whereas such detachment is the essence of the scientific approach to the study of society. According to this contemplative orientation, things are as they are because of certain antecedent conditions. Given these conditions, the result is inescapable and it is foolhardy to pass judgment on events. Such is "pure" science.

II. *Evaluation of Social Data as Means.* In contrast with the foregoing, applied sociology conducts investigations in order to determine the relevance and adequacy of means to socially approved ends. In this manner the applied field provides large scope for evaluation of social data *as means*. Investigations may range from simple instances of limited social significance to complex and comprehensive phenomena with many ramifications. Thus, applied sociology can help any group to get what it wants. Moreover, since what is desired may be a means to some larger end, it is logically possible to evaluate any approved end that serves as a means in a larger setting of means-ends relationships. The adequacy of techniques of child training in relation to socially approved parental desires, the adequacy of parental desires concerning child development to the larger ends of personality development, the adequacy of the approved direction of personality development to the institutionalized requirements of the given society, and the adequacy of institutions to the desires of the group—all such questions logically fall within the prov-

*The writer is greatly indebted to Dr. John Dewey who read an earlier draft of the present paper and discussed it at length with him. The following persons also contributed helpful criticism: Albert C. Barnes, Barnes Foundation, Merion, Pennsylvania; Joseph K. Folsom, Vassar College; Joseph Ratner, College of the City of New York; James Woodard, Temple University. Naturally, none of these persons can be held responsible for any portion of the analysis that follows.

ince of applied sociology as defined above. In such analyses of the relationships between means and ends there are bound to be both implicit and explicit evaluations of the cultural pattern in its detailed designs. The culturally sanctioned ways of attaining approved ends may come under criticism as a result of inductive studies. Just as medical science can insure the health of a primitive group more readily than can the sanctioned forms of magic, so criminology can recommend means of reducing crime that are more effective than sanctioned vindictiveness. Indeed, the social institutions may be viewed as means to the attainment of the ultimate desires of the group. There is nowhere a break in the concatenated series of means-ends relationships. There is no point short of ultimate ethical values at which an arbitrary line can be drawn halting the further advance of scientific investigation.¹ When the logical implications of the ordinary definition of applied science are developed, it becomes evident that applied sociology has a potential scope that is enormous.

Thus, the conception of social phenomena as means to the attainment of larger cultural ends provides the logical basis for scientific evaluation of such phenomena. This is only another way of saying that the *consequences* flowing from the given phenomena (means) can be evaluated in terms of their consistency with other cultural values (ends). Parental techniques, for example, may be evaluated as means to approved ends of child development and this is only another way of saying that the consequences (to the child) of parental policy may be evaluated in terms of approved standards for child development. It is often stated that science seeks to predict the consequences of a course of action but cannot evaluate these consequences. Yet this is an arbitrary limitation upon the scope of scientific method in the study of society. A more adequate definition would include evaluation of alternative sets of consequences in the manner suggested here. In periods of social disorganization, the cultural values serving as reference points in

the evaluative process may be indefinite and confused, but this fact does not alter the logical principle involved.

The means-ends frame of reference also provides the orientation for the evaluation of ideologies. If the given ethical value-system involves equality of opportunity and general social welfare, the sociologist has a basis for evaluating various ideologies. Investigation will show that certain value-beliefs, considered by some persons to be essential to societal welfare, have sprung from the interests of sub-groups within society. Around these interests a social philosophy may develop which is adopted later by the total group. One of the more illuminating aspects of Marxism has been its emphasis upon the relations of ideology to social status. Marxism has stimulated the development of a more adequate sociological interpretation which is not restricted to one particular definition of social class and considers the ideologies arising from other sub-group interests. Sociological studies can reveal the sub-group purposes served by a particular ideology of general social well-being which may include elaborate and subtle rationalizations. An employer may believe that the abolition of labor unions is essential to the well-being of everyone in the United States. A "race," self-styled as superior, may consider that the world would be a better place if it ruled the "inferior" races of the earth. In each case it is legitimate for sociology to trace the value-beliefs to their social origins and, if these are found to lie in sub-group interests, it cannot be assumed that the beliefs are compatible with the interest of society as a whole. It is not unusual, of course, for a group to seek to advance its own interests. However, where rationalizations of sub-group interests in terms of the *general welfare* are present, such ideological references cannot be taken at face value but must be subjected to critical estimate. The intellectual orientation of sub-groups tends to be segmental and as such their ideologies of societal welfare can be evaluated. Such evaluation is quite consistent with scientific method.

III. *Evaluation of Ends.* As discussed above, the orientation of applied sociology

¹ Ultimate values are defined and discussed in Section VI.

makes possible the determination of the relevance and adequacy of means to given ends. If the group wishes to reduce crime, science can contribute to the implementation of the end already chosen. The present theory goes further, however, by maintaining that the *means, once discovered to be relevant and adequate, provide the basis for evaluating the original end.* In other words, an evaluation of ends can be made by investigating what is involved in achieving them.² Suppose that the *mores* call for unflinching obedience on the part of children and that this can be achieved only by inculcating an overwhelming fear of the parent. In the judgment of contemporary psychology such means would be evaluated as undesirable in their effect upon the child's personality and in this particular case the evaluative judgment is sufficiently adverse to enable the psychologist to challenge the end itself, that is, the culturally sanctioned desire for unflinching obedience. Let it be carefully noted, however, that, in all instances where means are evaluated for the purpose of evaluating ends, *there must be a set of ultimate values postulated as a reference point.* In the example just cited, the welfare of the child is assumed as the end; without this assumption the whole evaluative process breaks down.

In the social sciences it is common to see many persons falter in their desire to "solve" social problems when they discover, through systematic study, the radical changes (means) in the social structure actually involved. During the recent depression a moratorium on industrial inventions was suggested by certain persons who did not seem to understand the far-flung control of technological processes and industrial organization that was involved—changes that would have produced a degree of regimentation intolerable to a democracy. Thus the means, scientifically ascertained as relevant, adequate and necessary, may or may not support the end originally sought. If it can be shown that the employment of certain means produces greater problems instead of fewer, or if the means encounter insurmountable re-

sistance in the given situation, the end itself must be modified or abandoned altogether. Means may turn out to be more complex or influential in many more directions than anticipated at first, leading to a revision of the end. Ends thought to be capable of immediate attainment may be retained only as part of a long-range program and other ends are then set for immediate action. Finally, as in the case of the moratorium on inventions, the means necessary to the attainment of the given end would have run athwart other culturally approved ends.

IV. *Some Applications to Contemporary Sociology.* It has been stated that scientifically ascertained means can provide the basis for evaluating ends. This is one application of the principle that knowledge can influence desire. Such influence does not necessarily occur, for desires may be so deeply imbedded in tradition or may be characterized by such fanatical intensity that knowledge is ignored. Yet so frequent is the modification of desire by knowledge on the part of intelligent persons that we are not justified in assuming, as is so frequently done, that science is powerless to affect what people want. Ignorant persons may want many things that the more intelligent have learned to avoid in their wishing as well as in their action. Group desires in a society dominated by superstition are not of the same order as those of a group respecting scientific endeavor. Indeed, a society giving the largest possible freedom to research would be led ultimately to an examination of every sanctioned value.

The whole issue hinges upon the conception of science which is held. It is to the physical sciences that we owe the conception that demands laboratory experimentation yielding mathematical results. The prestige of the physical sciences is very great, of course, due to their practical achievements. That these fields have set the standard for many social scientists is evident from the fact that the latter commonly consider their fields as "not very scientific" because of the absence of experimentation. But at least, they say, we can require mathematical results. Now mathematical expressions, though

² Cf. John Dewey, *Theory of Valuation*, Chicago, 1939, 33-50.

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desirable for many purposes, cannot be considered essential. Methods of dealing with phenomena must be adapted to the nature of those phenomena. Scientists do the best that can be done under the circumstances, hoping that the accumulations of knowledge will make possible further refinements of older methods or suggest new ones. Even a casual acquaintance with the history of science demonstrates this principle. Any field of science is a "going concern" and there is no finality in its methods or conclusions.

The difficulty in sociology seems to lie in a rigid conception of scientific method. The assumption is often made that a result must be quantitative and the field of study is defined accordingly. Thus, instead of working out methods suitable to the data, a reverse adjustment is made whereby only those data are chosen which will yield a result satisfying the preconceived notion of science. Such a *priori* thinking views science as a fixed entity. As a matter of fact, sociological data seldom yield to quantitative expression at the present stage of development; and it seems far better to study society as best we can rather than heed those who require quantitative results as a ticket of admission to the domain of science.

With respect to evaluative thought many social scientists have taken over the very mode of thinking which is theoretically rejected. It is in moralistic thought, developed by ethnocentric conditioning and supernatural sanctions, that values are conceived as fixed, arbitrary, reified, and a *priori*. The attempt to steer clear of evaluations in the social sciences is based upon the erroneous belief that moralistic values must forever pre-empt the field. This belief further assumes that in order to insure inductive processes of study, evaluative *conclusions* must be eschewed—an untenable position.³ Such a

view fails to understand, as indicated in Section II, above, that some values are means to larger ends and that here science can apply the test of consistency. Other values, as discussed in Section III, are evaluated as ends by determining the means necessary for their realization. One of the observed results of this unnecessarily rigid separation of social-scientific thought and evaluative judgment is that thinking may be precise in "pure" science, but the approach becomes quite emotional when the social scientist considers practical problems "as a citizen." Perhaps the pursuit of knowledge on a strict non-evaluative (or contemplative) level produces an accumulation of frustrations which may be released in a flood when the scientist of this variety leaves his work and enters the world of affairs merely as a citizen. Here again we witness the undesirable consequences resulting from an intellectual dichotomy. Sociologists often subject themselves to unjustifiably severe inhibitions of thought simply because all values are conceived to be on the same level of significance in the social process. It has been the aim of the foregoing analysis to indicate that such a view is erroneous.⁴

V. Contribution of Social Psychology.

There is another approach to the evaluation of ends which is legitimate for science. This

that the moral blames and approvals in question are evaluative and that they exhaust the field of evaluation. For they are *not* evaluative in any logical sense of evaluation. They are not even judgments in the logical sense of judgment. For they rest upon some preconception of *ends* that *should* or *ought* to be attained. This preconception excludes ends (consequences) from the field of inquiry and reduces inquiry at its very best to the truncated and distorted business of finding out means for realizing objectives already settled upon." (Italics are in the original statement.) John Dewey, *Logic*, New York, 1938, 496.

⁴At a general meeting of the American Sociological Society held in New York City on December 27, 1941, there was a panel discussion held under the auspices of the Committee on Participation of Sociologists in National Affairs. The problem of goals (values) came in for considerable attention but not a single one of the five discussants seemed to understand that goals may be scientifically evaluated in accordance with the logical principles outlined in Sections II and III above.

³"The soundness of the principle that moral condemnation and approbation should be excluded from the operations of obtaining and weighing material data and from the operations by which conceptions for dealing with the data are instituted is, however, often converted into the notion that all evaluations should be excluded. This conversion is, however, effected only through the intermediary of a thoroughly fallacious notion; the notion, namely,

is the direct study of human desires by the appropriate biological, psychological and social sciences. Closely related to sociology is the field of social psychology which studies the dynamics of personality and, by the definition of its field, conducts research with a view to determining the needs of personality. Such knowledge can be used as the basis for evaluating expressed desires. Here again no "touch-me-not" quality attaches to what people want but science can evaluate what is wanted. Cultural conditioning may have given certain distortions to desires, thereby producing a distinction between *desires* and *needs* of personality. False analogy with the physical sciences is responsible for the notion that the desires of people are beyond study. They are beyond study by physical scientists, but this does not apply to social psychologists who are directly concerned with the study of wishes and attitudes, their causes and effects. Here lie the values of the individual.

Certain social psychologists go astray, however, by confusing individual ethics and social ethics. They formulate an ethics in terms of individual well-being and then go on to assume the equality or near-equality of human beings.⁵ Yet a social ethic does not arise immediately from the determination of the various needs of personality. How are we to decide whether one individual, whatever his socio-psychological needs, is to be given the same consideration as another? Actually the values developed by this field represent a picture of the "average" or "normal" person constructed from many cases. But how can it be shown that the "normal" shall be the guide in developing a standard of evaluation? Are the desires and needs of everyone to receive equal consideration? In contradiction to the ethics of democracy, why should the welfare of the majority not be sacrificed to that of a selected minority? Does not this issue lie in social ethics far beyond the modest ambitions of science?

VI. *Ultimate Social Values Consistent with Scientific Ideals.* It is at this point that the

whole analysis encounters the ultimate values of the group. Such values are ultimate in the sense that intellectual operations have reached a "dead end" in the logical series of means-ends relationships. Pure intellectual detachment finds the issue incapable of further evaluation; perforce, the evaluation of ultimate values takes us into the realm of ethical issues and sentiments. One ethical system holds that the average man has rights which the social order should protect. On the other hand, there is a system of ethical thought that invokes the principle of force which would enable small groups to rule the common run of humanity. Advocates of the first theory believe that the individual possesses intrinsic value, but their opponents would deny this. Instead, the latter believe that the strong should dominate the weak, that the general run of mankind constitutes a proper field of exploitation for those strong enough to batter their way to power. Shall the principles of reason and co-operation be invoked in relation to other people, or force and conquest? Shall I attempt to understand my neighbor or shall I try to defeat him in a contest of force? The philosophy of liberal democracy resolves the issue in one way; the philosophy of tyranny presents a diametrically opposed answer.

Many social scientists do not recognize the relevance of these issues to their respective disciplines. They believe that the social-scientific method stands helpless before this controversy, even though the future of science hinges upon the outcome. Here is revealed, in starkest reality, the self-defeating tendency of liberalism. The advocates of science and liberal culture are defenseless in the face of attack and even go so far as to justify their defenselessness. The liberal ideal of tolerance is carried to such lengths that all sorts of intolerances are tolerated. Open-mindedness is transmuted into a negativism that makes ethical conviction impossible. So long as the social sciences flourished in the liberal-democratic culture of the Western world, the issue did not emerge as a practical question of the first magnitude. Today, however, liberalism can no longer be taken for granted.

⁵ Cf. R. S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* Chapter 5, Princeton, 1939.

If social scientists view their work as valuable, they must, of logical necessity, abandon the attitude of detachment toward the ethical problems sketched above. Once the scientist begins to *advocate* the value of science, he is caught up in a whole pattern of ethics.⁶ He will advocate the extension of reason and understanding. He will advocate free discussion, intellectual honesty, respect for evidence. His way of life stands in direct contrast to the use of force and the dissemination of prejudices and falsehoods. His outlook and methods are permeated with ethical significance. Thus, when science is conceived as a special activity *worth preservation and advancement*, acceptance of a whole system of ultimate values is implied. The next step in our analysis is to show that the ultimate values essential to the advancement of the social sciences represent the *mores* of a definite type of social order. What kind of societal context is most conducive to the pursuit of knowledge? Is it possible to begin with the scientific habit of thought and, by following its ramifications in every

direction, to arrive at a definite pattern of culture? Let us attempt to sketch the main outlines of a social order that would provide the fullest possible scope for free inquiry in the social sciences.

(1) It seems essential that the broad aims of the social sciences be much more widely understood and encouraged. Scientific method is not widely understood, although many appreciate its conclusions in their technological applications. Probably one of the main obstacles to the advancement of the social sciences in this country is the limited understanding on the part of the general public of their aims and methods. In the society ideal for social scientists primary stress would be placed upon the essential of scientific method in the education of the young. Indeed, eugenical measures might be applied supplementary to the work of education. Such a society would tend to produce a type of human nature that would be anathema to all those who exploit human feelings for their own purposes.

(2) Moreover, as the history of science amply demonstrates, scientists may be at least temporarily frustrated by the pressure of institutionalized authority and power, whether it be political, economic, or religious. The society ideal for the social sciences would not brook any interference from these quarters. In a culture nourishing intellectual freedom, no group or class could become conspicuously powerful unless such power were responsible to a public appreciative of science. Vested interests seek to maintain their power and are therefore more or less resistant to objective study. Government will actively encourage the social sciences only if the majority of the people and their representatives desire to promote these fields. What type of class system would support free inquiry? It appears that only in a society where differences in status are moderate can social inquiry into the class system be relatively free. Ruling classes with great power and special privilege will attempt to justify their status by ideologies which set forth their special claim to superiority. How far will these bear examination by competent investigators? It is not necessary, for pur-

⁶Read Bain has said that the scientist should defend the scientific method and the publication of scientific research against all who would limit or prohibit them. According to Bain, devotion to science constitutes the *religion* of the scientist. Yet he goes on to state that the determination and promotion of general public policies must be left to prophets, politicians, and moralists. As indicated in the present analysis, such a dichotomy is untenable. It views science and society as separate entities and differentiates sharply between the scientist and the citizen. Cf. Read Bain, "Science, Values, and Sociology," *American Sociological Review* 4, 560-565, August, 1939.

⁷The question arises as to whether the social sciences are different from other sciences in the requirement of a certain social-ethical setting for maximum development. The history of the physical and biological sciences gives ample evidence that their respective developments were stimulated in certain directions and retarded in others by the attempts to solve problems relating to warfare, profit, and disease. In general, their growth has been affected profoundly by the cultural context. Even today biological research encounters various tabus in the field of genetics. However, cultural resistances are likely to be especially great where social institutions, vested interests and the class structure come under uninhibited scrutiny in social research. This tendency obstructs the fullest growth and achievement of the social sciences.

poses of this analysis, to argue that such studies would lead to uniform condemnation of vested interests and the class system that they dominate. It is rather that such groups fear the revolutionary *possibilities* in free social inquiry. We are driven to conclude that intellectual freedom would be completely protected only where differences in economic and social status are not great and are based upon a strictly competitive process; otherwise, the concentration of power in groups of high status would tempt the members to perpetuate the system for themselves and their children. The latter tendency is undesirable unless it can be shown that *only* the children of these classes develop the abilities in question, and this is unlikely.

(3) There are other non-scientific ideologies which tend to defeat scientific method. Supernaturalism and its other-worldly authority are at odds, either implicitly or explicitly, with the naturalistic approach to the study of man. Accordingly, the social sciences are restricted where this influence is strong. Appeal to tradition is also unscientific. To justify a practice by saying that "we have always done it so" does not satisfy the logic of intelligence. Moreover, there are the sanctioned moralistic dogmas which are formulas ready-made for application to all situations that may arise. In all three types of thought, decisions are made on the basis of emotional appeals to authority and sentiment.

VII. It is obvious that no existing cultures fulfill these conditions. A society based entirely upon these values must be considered a rationalistic Utopia in which the prejudices and sentiments associated with status and interest have been eliminated. Nevertheless, the *mores* of such a society have been out-

lined above to the end of establishing evaluative criteria for the advocates of social-scientific method. These are the *mores* that would provide an ideal setting for this method and its practitioners. If the view presented here is valid in general outline, it is necessary for social scientists to admit that their intellectual frame of reference is linked inextricably to a system of social values. It is not maintained, of course, that this system of values is ideal *for other purposes*, but only that these values promote the scientific study of society.⁸ This is the point at issue. It is a poor sociologist who fails to appreciate the importance of non-rational elements in associative living. The question here is simply the extent to which such factors advance or retard the social sciences.

It appears that many scientific sociologists have failed to perceive that their cherished values, including the paradoxical value of "non-evaluation," are an integral part of a specific type of cultural pattern. In this regard, they have fallen into the common error of placing human activities in isolated compartments instead of perceiving the interrelationships and interdependence that exist among social phenomena. For years we have been criticizing the concept of social organism. Perhaps it is time for us to recognize the essential truth contained in the concept.

⁸ In contradistinction to the view that scientific method implies ethical neutrality, the writer has tried to show that the ideals of science are linked to a pattern of values. It should be emphasized very clearly, however, that no attempt has been made to validate social values merely by reference to the effect upon science. The whole problem of such validation lies in the field of social ethics and is quite beyond the scope of the present analysis.

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TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIOLOGY OF LITERARY AND ART-FORMS

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The "social" interpretation of literature or art discusses what problem a work "delineates"; *sociological* interpretation, more analytical, and resembling *Wissensoziologie*, discusses why it was created, accepted, and given its peculiar form; its relation to other works and to basic cultural values. E.g., modern creative writing reflects conflict between science and traditional values and a groping toward novel social patterns. Four common reactions to this conflict are: purely "objective" description, nostalgic devices, "stream of consciousness" writing, and positive, radical convictions. [Ed.]

I. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SOCIAL INTERPRETATION AND SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

THERE IS an important distinction between "social significance" and "sociological significance" pertaining to the analysis and interpretation of various art-forms. This is not to be construed as purely an academic or captious distinction. The difference in meaning between these terms is a vital one which the sociologically uninformed continually confuse. The sociological interpretation involves the attempt to evaluate any given form of artistic, literary or intellectual expression of a period in terms of well-defined and coherent frames of reference. There is a sociological frame of reference to which the mere doctrinaire or social interpreter does not specifically refer and of which, as a matter of fact, he is frequently quite oblivious. A social interpretation simply involves an attempt to contemplate or comprehend a work of art—whether it be a novel, a poem or a play—in terms of the social problem it delineates or wishes to suggest.

Those who desire to comprehend the "social significance" of any art-form, therefore, are wholly concerned with these two problems: (1) does it faithfully reproduce the problem as it exists in society? and (2) what is the significance of the problem to the social group itself? Thus, if we are dealing with the drama, what immediately suggests itself to our minds when we think of a play with social significance is a play dealing with proletarian problems, labor problems, racial problems, etc., etc., the presentation of broad

social issues which cut across the body politic of society. If we think of such plays, the work of a man like Clifford Odets is suggested. Such dramatic works as *Waiting for Lefty*, *Till the Day I Die*, and similar plays, or the recently current popular offering by Lillian Hellman, *The Watch on the Rhine*, seem to reflect the social thinking and social problems of the contemporary epoch. Their chief characteristic and virtue as "social theatre" and "social drama" are inherent in the fact that they are reflective rather than analytical; realistically photographic rather than probing of fundamental social values and culture-conflicts which exist in contemporary society. Ibsen's plays of the late Victorian and pre-1914 era are reflective plays of this type. They define and discuss a social problem but frequently do little more than express in dramatic form the effects of the problem. Such plays are educative and propagandist in a real sense and serve as powerful vehicles in mass stimulation. They energize our attitudes and frequently motivate to action.

We have had a plethora of novels in the present and recent past illustrating the same principle. A most notable recent example would be John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* which has undoubtedly already proved itself a great social novel and a powerful stimulus to action. A similar contribution in the past was Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which, in a way that political pamphleteering, newsprint and polemical tracts failed, opened the eyes of the Northern public to the underlying human problem in

the slavery issue. It should be noted in passing that reflective literature of this type is not always accurate literary reporting. Its chief value seems to lie in the fact that it is motivational and emotionally educative. Its emphasis is derived from the desire to change an existent condition, a condition which the writer, and a large share of the audience he is trying to reach, believe to be evil.

It should be noted, however, that it is a comparative rarity, except for the definitively proletarian writers, to state or formulate a solution for the problem with which they are dealing. Ibsen does not tell us, when he has Oswald Alving struck down by syphilis in his great play, *Ghosts*, how this peculiar evil should be eradicated. The social playwright and artist do not necessarily consider that to be their function. When Tom Joad at the conclusion of *The Grapes of Wrath* tells his mother that he will always be found where men are hungry, where laboring men are struggling and where the poverty-stricken are being oppressed, he suggests no grandiose reorganizational scheme for society so that its essential differences and conflicts may be composed. He simply says that he is going to be there and the stirring implications are left with the reader.

The great artist seems to be primarily concerned with the mood of a period rather than with the analytical synthesis of its various problems. He gets at the temper and the emotional genius of political and social crises but tells us little concerning the logic of the issues he presents. He leaves such issues to the essayists, the pamphleteers, the publicists and the social scientists. He may upon occasion become an excellent pamphleteer and publicist himself, as did Émile Zola in his impassioned defense of Captain Dreyfus, which not only exposed the problem of anti-Semitism in France, but even more deeply probed into the corruptive influence of the military upon the national and cultural unity of France. The fact remains, however, that as an artist and a creative writer, he is simply content to expose problems and not to delineate solutions. The artist *qua* artist is a different individual than the artist with literary and verbal skills who turns these talents to "muck-raking" and the organization of an intellectualized public opinion.

II. THE SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF LITERARY AND ART-FORMS

The nature of the problem just discussed is considerably different from the consideration of a work of art as a sociological entity—a sociological contribution to the culture in which it is created. It is with this problem that the present article is primarily concerned. The sociological analysis is a much more fundamental one. Contrary to a common popular misconception, it is not concerned so much with whether or not a work of art faithfully reproduces a given contemporary problem and with the effects of this work upon public opinion and morale. The sociological interpretation and analysis is primarily engaged with such questions as (1) why the work came to be written or created at all, (2) what relationships it has to other works of art in the same field and to works in other fields of artistic expression, (3) why it has come to be accepted or rejected at a given period of historical development, (4) what basic values in the culture it expresses other than the problem-aspect, and (5), which is very important, why it has come to be cast in the particular form used by the creative artist.

Let us illustrate briefly by alluding to this matter of the form in which a given work of art is cast. This phase of the creative artist's work may be seen to represent in sharp focus certain latent and active conceptual cultural trends. Basically, from the sociologist's standpoint, the reasons for the importance of form may be reduced to the following two questions: (1) What does the form tell us of the conceptual trends among the people who live in a given area during a specific period? and (2) Why has a given form come to be accepted? For example, a given belief in religion may be verbally couched in various ways. The ancient Hebrews expressed a conception of divine justice which was similar in essence to the ideas discussed by Augustine and others of the early church fathers, but the notable differences in expository method illustrate fundamental differences in culture patterns. The rhapsodic and elegiac versification of the prophets indicates an enormous difference in culture-mentality as compared with the pre-

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cise, logical, coherent scholasticism of the early church fathers. Yet, from the standpoint of context and conceptual content, both are interested in the same idea.

Another illustration may be drawn from the plastic arts, especially in the field of painting, where different historical schools have depicted the human form in a countless variety of ways. From one standpoint, the plastic artist has always been interested primarily in the same thing: he has chiefly directed his talents towards the depiction of the human form and various aspects of the landscape. The basic cultural distinctions of his period are sharply brought to the fore when we compare the classical idealized conceptions of antiquity, the photographic realism of the Flemish School, and the modernistic interpretations of a Manet, a Monet, a Seurat, or a Cézanne. If we rely wholly upon the content of a given art-form to render to us the clue to a given culture-epoch, we are oft-times baffled. The human anatomy has not changed for at least 25,000 years, but what different insights are afforded in formal sociological analysis when we compare El Greco's tortuous, writhing and twisting forms with the "candid-camera shots" of Vermeer or the stolid reality of the good North European burghers of Albrecht Dürer!

In view of the relationship between culture-mentality and conceptualized form, it is wholly possible that the full understanding of art-forms, whether these be in the field of poetry, architecture, literature or the drama, can be achieved only through sociological sources. The validity of this statement rests upon the assumption that the standards of aesthetic judgment, as well as those of general taste and propriety, are matters of cultural relativity and selectivity, depending wholly upon the inter-relationships of a given cultural matrix and emerging from given cultural standpoints and culture-mentalities. It is a truism to state that we are children of our epoch—of our culture—although it is a truism, unhappily, which is all too frequently but not penetratingly examined.

III. SOCIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AND INTERPRETATION OF ART-FORMS

(a) We may now proceed to analyze in greater detail the principles of interpretation

suggested in the previous section. We begin with the commonplace sociological observation that *standards of good taste and propriety in literature*, as well as in generalized behavior-patterns, *emerge from the social matrix and depend upon the cultural trends and standards of normality for a given period*. If we apply this point of view to the interpretation of works of art, we discover some interesting facts, in view of the traditional reverence for the antique and the works of the past. We must remember, however, that works of art from the past, or those taken from cultures alien to ourselves, can probably never be fully meaningful to us. These works may become sanctified through the aura of their status as "museum pieces." It is true that we might be led or even be taught to wax panegyric about them, or we may admire some detail of their craftsmanship, but the essential meaning of such works may continually elude us and may be, in fact, because of our supposition, considerably incomprehensible to us. A demurrer may be raised by this statement, but if we recognize that the appreciation of an art-form is largely dependent upon the contemporaneity of social response, we must recognize that for those outside of a given culture, this positive response may take on only an intellectualized expression, i.e., a formalized recognition of status engendered by a critical élite. As a matter of fact, upon careful examination, what we admire in such works consists usually of the aforementioned details of craftsmanship, their historical significance, or the classical or reverential sanctity which age gives to such great works of genius.

This point may arise, however. Are there certain values or certain human situations, as described by the artist, which have pronounced survival-capacities? This point appears to be valid, for what we are probably doing in admiring and reviving some of the great works of the past is to rediscover values in them which may have been common to both cultures. The culture-historian continually makes reference to such recurrent values. Or, he may be imputing certain significances to these works which may not have been conspicuous or which may even have been lacking at the period of their inception.

Charles Horton Cooley has very well said that in rediscovering the great works of the past, we are very likely re-creating them in our own image or, strictly speaking, in the image of our times.

In respect to the other point so frequently raised, viz., the possibility of the existence of recurrent value-situations in human history, there may definitely be, especially as portrayed in literature and drama, certain situations which even the most modern of individuals can fully appreciate. After all, men have always loved and lusted, envied and morally transgressed, hated and revered in all times. Common emotional situations have always existed although the motives for these various passions have been endlessly variable in pattern and design. It is for this reason, probably, that great tragic dramas have always been admired and have been able apparently to move different kinds of men, and men of different cultures.

(b) We may now proceed to examine in greater detail the specific functioning of our basic principles of interpretation and determine how they may be applied to problems of research. The second set of interpretive principles may be seen to be those that specifically deal with such problems as relate to *the reasons for a given work of art having been produced at a given period*. To determine the bases for such a problem involves a study of both the biographical and cultural aspects incorporated within a given work, particularly of the way in which these two sets of factors have functioned in interaction.

We assume, of course, that a culture has certain beliefs, values and ideas which it wishes to foster and preserve. In keeping with such cultural demands, the great expressive artist of a cultural epoch can do one of two things: (1) he can simply re-echo or reaffirm the values so subscribed to, or (2) he may, in serving as a vehicle for a given culture-idea, give such values a unique cast or form, in accordance with the peculiar personality background which *his* immediate social environment has developed and intensified. For example, let us assume we are making a sociological study of the plays of Eugene O'Neill. Whereas many other modern playwrights, Pirandello for example, have

treated the same values and dealt with the same problems as O'Neill, to derive adequate sociological appraisal of the individualized emphasis and the "artiness" which pervades some of O'Neill's work, we would have to establish the functional integration of the psycho-social factors and values proceeding from O'Neill's background of Catholic parenthood, possible feelings of rejection by his actor-father, close association of "grease paint and footlights" (which were among his earliest memories), and the pseudo-artistry which emanates from a lengthy association with Greenwich Village and Provincetown. Pirandello, as previously mentioned, says much the same sort of things that O'Neill does, and may perhaps say them much better, but the disciplined Italian intelligence of Pirandello is that of the intellectual and philosopher, and not that of the poet, as in the case of O'Neill.

Thus, what the writer does is to give a peculiar expression to the values which the culture is expressing or towards which it is tending. However, the problem of the writer's acceptability to his age and the various special-interest groups of his social milieu must also be dealt with. Fundamentally, what establishes the bases for such acceptability? There seem to be two conditions which would tend to constitute the essential reasons for acceptance. Obviously, the mode of interpretation of an artistic culture-agent and the underlying conceptions inherent in his work must be common to a large group or a strategic control-group of his period. Secondly, a mood or mass-emotion may be current at a given period, upon which the successful artist or writer may capitalize, if he succeeds in crystallizing that mood through articulation into a coherent and intelligible form. There is an enormous quantity of such literature, in past epochs as well as in our own, illustrating this latter point, literature of all types and varieties, ranging all the way from *Mein Kampf* (despite unquestioned political pressure-techniques behind its circulation) to various kinds of modern esoterica and mystico-religious tracts.

(c) A third principle of sociological interpretation is concerned with *the relationship of a work of art to other works of art of its period*. The sociologist is not solely

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concerned with the unique contribution but with the complicated pattern of relationships which bind this work to others expressing similarities in idea and form throughout the range of artistic expression. Assuming a common culture-mentality he recognizes that all works of art represent common values expressed in different forms and in different media. We may illustrate this by reference to a recent artistic trend. Late nineteenth-century art-forms seem to have been characterized by a rather interesting development, illustrated as well in our political and social life: a tendency which we may denominate as *atomistic*, a tendency to break down an idea and treat it in its smallest component parts. In the field of literature, the trend became characterized by a prominence accorded to autobiography, detailed short stories, and specialized novels. The same tendency became manifest in the field of painting marked by the brave attempts of the early modernists who instituted a new style of depiction by breaking down their forms into minute patches of color. These relationships are significant and frequently an examination of one work of art throws into sharp focus elements contained in the other which we had missed before this comparison.

The principle previously mentioned, relative to the *acceptability of a work of art*, has already in part been treated, but it involves another phase not mentioned. A work is not accepted simply because it is the mere simulacrum of the culture, a "candid photographic camera-shot," so to speak. It is also accepted because it frequently gets at the more basic and profound philosophic principles contesting for survival at the time and which may underlie an obvious social problem.

If O'Neill, for example, simply gave us a picture of racial intermarriage in his sociologically over-rated *All God's Chillun Got Wings*, we would have to adjudge it a failure on purely sociological grounds for the main and simple reason that his sociology is deficient. As a matter of fact, a lesser play produced a few years ago, *They Shall Not Die*, is a much more coherent and vibrant interpretation of the Negro problem in the South, revolving as it does around the factual evi-

dence produced in the famous Scottsboro Case. But O'Neill's work has the makings of a great play since he suggests something more profound than a realistic depiction of a certain phase of Negro-white relations. He suggests the age-long struggle of a man and a woman to fulfill themselves as personalities in love and marriage, particularly in the face of deep-seated social barriers. In short, it is not the racial problem to which O'Neill addresses himself; this is simply an outer aspect. He is primarily concerned with a recurrent ethical and adjustment problem in the relationships of men and women.

(d) We have finally the last criterion of sociological interpretation, the one concerning *form*, highly significant, and already partially discussed. This problem is no less important because the social origins of form are so frequently neglected by critical writers. Each age brings its own wrangles by the critical élite on matters of form and style; and so much of this disagreement to a later generation seems to be footless and without basis. Much of this perennial argumentation appears to be argumentation *in vacuo* since the critic, the purveyor of style to the public, begins with unexamined postulates and assumptions revolving around personal bias and predilection. Criteria of form can be objectively arrived at only if we are cognizant of the fact that an entire culture germinates its critical standards as intellectual folkways, thus affording each age with its own perceptions and logical outlooks. The development of critical standards must be viewed as a social creation, not an individual one. Yet much literary and artistic critical discussion reduces to nothing more or less than "I like this" and "I don't like that," around which personal biases the critic has built a structure of rationalization in the name of logical discourse and evaluation.

IV. THE CULTURAL BASIS OF MODERN LITERARY FORMS

(a) *The Historical Aspect.* To establish the cultural basis of the literary modes of expression of a given epoch constitutes the primary task of the sociological analyst of this phase of human expression. To derive the outstanding characteristics of the general period or culture-epoch in which we live

—what has been so aptly called by Joseph Wood Krutch "The Modern Temper"—requires our adherence to the institutional historical formula. To paraphrase John Dewey, to understand what we have become, we must understand what we were. Within the scope of this article, we can simply suggest the highlights of this process while recognizing, of course, the necessity for a highly detailed study of its pattern of development.

The contradictory culture-forms and culture-values which appear to characterize contemporary social life have their intellectual roots in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the great period of rational discovery and rational explanation. The brilliant French thinkers of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who ushered in this so-called Enlightenment, fittingly designated the great encyclopedists since the reaches which their intelligence explored were co-extensive with all the problems of man, believed in the efficacy of the logical reason as a means of explaining and answering all problems. Aided and abetted by the critical acumen of the great dissenters of this and a previous age, Voltaire and Rousseau, Condorcet and Montesquieu, with their collective onslaughts undermined the structure of superstition and traditional belief which were still weighting men's minds despite Francis Bacon and the Renaissance.

However the thinking of these rationalists was fundamentally static. Reason and the new humanism to which it gave rise may have afforded man a dignity heretofore lacking. But the impact of these new conceptions did not at first seriously undermine class and status positions accruing from older aristocratic notions and the pretensions of the commercial gentry who were assuming positions of importance. A fundamental source of the static nature of this reasoning can best be seen in the preservation of absolutistic legal concepts. The political democratic process, the necessary concomitant of this new humanistic outlook, became translated into terms of the utilitarian conceptions of Bentham and Mill, conceptions expressed in terms of the greatest good for the greatest number. It is interesting to note, however, the extent of the carry-over of the aforementioned absolutistic legal concep-

tions, in view of the considerable unanimity of opinion concerning the nature of what was good. Expressed in legal controls, this process became characterized by the attempt to find checks and balances in the law.

These static conceptions were hardly sufficient to retard the impetus of the French and American Revolutions which, coupled with the revolutionary effects of the new industrial expansion and scientific development, unleashed a new dynamic which was eventually to destroy the basic principles of the previously held rationalistic humanism. The nineteenth century, therefore, became the great Armageddon representing the struggle between the values which men once believed in and which were needed for living, and the corrosive influence of the scientific, analytical intelligence which provided men with much to live for but gave nothing to live by. Coming as we now do, at the culmination of this epoch, we can see in retrospect the nature of the struggle between science and the values in which men believed. The unquestioned absolutes were revealed as natural processes. Romantic passion became a natural process of glands and sexual functioning; the belief in Deity became a comparative study of the different superstitions, folkways and mores of different peoples; honor became a value relative to one's personal interests and loyalties; patriotism, a struggle between rival factions for power; and man, instead of being one with the angels, became a higher form of ape. A reading of the voluminous correspondence and autobiographies of the period underlines the intensity of the struggle. The self-questioning doubts of Thomas Huxley, for example, are highly representative of the early awareness of the nature of this struggle. We sometimes fail to realize, since we are the inheritors of the great disillusionment and skepticism which came in the wake of this process, how catastrophic was the impact of the new science upon the complacent acceptance of good and bad, virtue and falsehood—the simple ethical dichotomies of our nineteenth-century forbears.

The philosophical implications of this controversy are represented by a struggle between mechanism and religious faith. The triumph of empirical rationalism leads to

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the destruction through analysis of what were once held to be the eternal and human verities. The analytical intellect in the ascendant discovers functions and component parts of reified conceptions, encompassing thereby the disintegration of the totalities of previously held human beliefs. As a result of this process, values become relative only to separate groups, individuals, geographical locales and given periods of time. The nineteenth-century writer wrote in the homiletical tradition: he was a moralist. He believed in absolute values of right and wrong. The late nineteenth-century or contemporary writer sees the new concept of relativity. Nothing, he affirms, is permanent except change. The yardstick of personal idiosyncrasy and bias, special-interest group, region and decade, constitute the new Protagorean ethic. This seems to be the social and philosophical significance of the doctrine which Einstein applied to the physical realm in the celebrated theory which constitutes a fitting climax to the conceptual confusion which science itself has produced.

The first World War intensified the nature of this conflict, carrying it to completion and leading to the great disillusionment which followed. It is interesting to note that the motivations employed at this time through propagandist devices made an attempt to recapture men's loyalties around traditional values, which the processes leading up to the war contradicted; the old shibboleths of nineteenth-century humanitarianism were again sounded. The war's aftermath, with its lack of accomplishment in the reconciliation of the traditional values and the problems created by science, led to increased exacerbation of this already strongly entrenched mood of skepticism and despair.

(b) *The Culturally Confused Setting for Modern Creative Writing.* Against this hastily sketched background, let us examine the problems of the creative writer, especially as these pertain to the audience towards whom his words are directed. When each man becomes his own arbiter of what is true and right, we have endless confusion. Since science is the only universal, in this type of world, literary expression and forms must have recourse to this medium. As an example of this, we have but to look at some of

the earlier writings of Aldous Huxley, to whom the panorama of human change is but a pattern of social interaction, and where courtship and romantic attachment are merely bio-chemical processes. Or, in the desire to avoid adherence to any set of human values and to escape the responsibility of conviction, a primary concern of the novelist—in fact often his métier—writings such as the earlier works of Hemingway have recourse to pure objective description comparable to the accounts of the good news correspondent.

In short, when the writer finds little or no consensus, there seem to be only four possible alternatives which he may follow, bearing in mind that he is seeking social approval or, at any rate, acceptance of his work. (1) He may have in the first place recourse to objective, purely descriptive journalistic writing of the type referred to in the case of Hemingway, whose *Farewell to Arms* affords us a notable illustration. Since what may be to one reader pathos and to another bathos, to one heart-rending tragedy and to another the inconsequential escapades of a sex-harassed soldier removed from women, the reader must derive through the implications or imputations of his own highly individuated nature, the value-significances involved in the story. What we are veritably provided with by Hemingway is a scaffolding of words upon which we can hang our own emotions.

(2) A second device or refuge to which the creative writer is driven during such periods as ours, keeping in mind our basic assumption that the writer must find something held in common by his audience to write about, may be seen in the artifices of the nostalgic temper, an ever-recurrent phase in the cycle of expression, manifested by the writer who hearkens back to the ancient glories. If we disagree today, we have at least a common past which, in retrospect, assumes more radiant hue with each backward glance as contrasted with the present difficulties conceived as insurmountable. We have a considerable number of such writers, of whom probably the most outstanding is the great Frenchman, Marcel Proust.

The "quaint conceit of Freud's," as Joseph Wood Krutch so brilliantly characterizes it, relative to the unsullied and natural

state of the child in the mother's womb and depicted with such ingenuous and tender detail by the Freudian school, may be said to be a psychological counterpart of this self-same trend. The sudden *volte face* from urbane cosmopolitanism and sophistication, engendered by high-frequency secondary contacts and cultural mobility, to a recrudescence of interest in the homely and simple virtues, has been marked by a return to the home-spun days and to that apparent contradiction, the novel of the familiar. The present wave of writings about horse-and-buggy doctors and small-town lawyers, the stressing of the homely delights of the nineteenth-century patriarchal family, Clarence Day's father and the regarding with fond pleasure of a Victorian epoch, at which we once scoffed, afford us ample evidence. The cyclical recurrence of interest in an heroic age or a golden day during periods of great social change and disorganization is manifested not only today by literature but in our recreational patterns as well, as evidenced by the treacly Hollywood fare ladled out to the public with rhythmic lavishness, as well as in the revival of square dances and household arts and crafts.

(3) The writer, however, who chooses to be neither journalist nor social historian, may describe inner processes instead of outward events. We may classify this type of literature as a subjective, free-associational type. Elsewhere this type of literature has already been referred to as "stream of consciousness" writing. Probably our most illustrious example is James Joyce, who gives us a continual motion picture description of the subtly interwoven inner experience and continuous associative processes of his characters: a horror of trivia to the French critic, apparently, because of its lack of rigid structure and form, and seeming absence of standpoint. Similar examples would be represented in the case of the modern poet who, probably all too truly, is said to "speak to himself." The extravagant and incomprehensible displays of an entire series of painters, represented by the so-called dada-ists and contemporary surrealists, afford us ample illustration *ad nauseum* and *ad infinitum* in the field of the plastic arts.

(4) Finally there is a type of literature

which we may denominate as the literature of rebellion or social dissent. Here the writer has a consensus among a special group, which writers of other categories appear to lack, in the form of positive social conviction. It may well be, for this reason, that the writers of this group are claimed to be possessed of a vigor which other writers lack. The so-called proletarian writers, for example, share convictions with their audience which provide them with the opportunity to deal straightforwardly with values and human situations instead of devising circumlocutions. The writer here, at any rate, has something vital and humanly significant to write about; his polemic may be controversial but it may be, nonetheless, operationally and integrally comprehensible. Functionally speaking, he enjoys the same advantage which the great classical writers possessed, in view of the fact that he has meaningful and basic rapport with a group, albeit this rapport is based upon a particularized, doctrinaire and partisan point of view, and not a generalized one. Among many others, such writers as John Steinbeck and Pietro Di Donato fit into this classification.

The schematism outlined above, of course, suffers as do other sociological classificatory mechanisms. A considerable sample of novels written during the past two decades straddles more than one category and, in fact, may possess elements of each. However, the classification system itself is predicated upon a theoretical framework of interpretive principles and appears to have relevance pedagogically as well as for general analysis. Certainly, the literary expressive trends of the contemporary period appear to be circumscribed by the narrow limits and restricted socially creative ranges imposed by our culturally confused order. The limitations upon selectivity, from the standpoint of the writer who must establish a social basis for his work, are operative and apply as well to form as they do to conceptual content.*

*In a larger work samples of representative writers are being categorized and analyzed. The hope is to develop a generally applicable research instrument. The various "sociologies" of crime, prostitution, or art, it seems to the writer, should provide operational vehicles usable by many research workers, and not serve merely as unique theoretical insights for a special few.

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UNDERGRADUATE SOCIETY AND THE COLLEGE CULTURE*

EDWARD Y. HARTSHORNE

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Undergraduate society and its culture constitute a field of study of importance to college officials, sociologists and students themselves. Official college organization is enmeshed with unofficial cultural patterns, and both must be understood in estimating the net educational effect of the modern college. The center of the formative process lies in the informal student friend-group, which can best be studied through the intermediation of student participant observers, supplemented by scrutiny of letters, diaries and other types of fortuitous or controlled life history documents.

THE DYNAMICS of the undergraduate social system and the role of its informal cultural norms in the socialization of American college students form an area of scientific inquiry important for college administrators, college teachers—especially of the social sciences, and undergraduates themselves.

In the following paper, which aims to provide an outline of "the sociology of college life," two methodological biases will be obvious. The approach will be both *cultural* and *functional*. Many studies of "undergraduate adjustment" have sought for their data almost wholly in the physiology or psychology of the individual at the time he reaches college. Important though these background factors may be, however, they acquire diagnostic significance only in terms of the *interaction* between the individual personality and the values and conflicts inherent in the culture of the college community. This college culture, in turn, is in part a micro-

cosm of the larger national and international community, in part a sub-culture with its own indigenous features. Secondly, many studies have sought to "lift" this or that element of college life out of its context and study it in isolation from other factors in the situation with which it is functionally interdependent. Such studies overlook the fact that the college community, like any social community, is a social system, in which the various constituent elements can be treated "in suspension" only at the risk of grave misunderstanding.

A well-rounded study of the college social system will require reports at three stages of analysis: (1) on the demographic processes involved—selection, training, and subsequent disposition of personnel; (2) on the formal organization and material equipment of the college, which may be called its "official culture"; and (3) on the informal "unofficial culture" of the students, developed by them in their process of adjusting to the official culture. Much of the information on the first two topics will be available to the outside observer provided with adequate powers to consult official records and make supplementary investigations using orthodox procedures. Information on the last topic, which concerns the student's own definition of the college situation, can be obtained only from students with a sociological or socio-psychological orientation, and trained as participant observers.

1. *Population Data.* Preliminary data in

*The writer would like to express his appreciation to his former students at Harvard and Radcliffe who, by their often penetrating observations, have measurably advanced sociological understanding of undergraduate society and culture—especially to Frances Bush, Gwyneth Griffin, Marion (Evans) Lydenberg, Mary Magrath, Marian Marcus, Charles O. Porter, Madeleine Proctor, Mortimer Rayman, Jane Russell, Donald Thurber, and W. C. Wigglesworth—and to his colleagues Talcott Parsons, R. K. Merton, E. C. Devereux, Logan Wilson and N. J. Demerath for many stimulating discussions.

this category should cover (a) student backgrounds, (b) composition of the student body and (c) distribution of graduates.

The college "generation" is only four years. Actually, however, the temporal horizon of any individual student spans seven annual class-groups: his own, the three ahead of him when he is a freshman, and the three behind him when he is a senior. Since every class-group inherits from its predecessors, by direct personal contact over three years, and indirectly over an indefinite period, there is ideal generational continuity to transmit the cultural heritage. No link is lost.

2. *Formal Organization and Material Equipment.* Against this background the investigator can then sketch in the distribution of the population in formal terms: classes, fields of concentration, courses, residence, rank-groups, and participation in other officially recognized curricular and extra-curricular activities. For the sociologist, such formal organization and participation data are valuable in large part as background for understanding the informal behavioral and attitudinal patterns which constitute the unofficial college culture. Some compilations of statistics about undergraduate organizational participation appear rather to hang in the air, since they are not related to the college culture or the college social system.

Many ostensibly functional organizations are dominated by cliques or other informal groupings with common backgrounds—such as being graduates of the same school—which cliques then proceed to select new members, not according to their functional qualifications, but according to their personal or social acceptability in terms of the informal group standards. Knowing this, candidates frequently seek to meet both sets of requirements. Eventually, if the process continues, the informal or latent function of the group may come to be as important as the ostensible or formal function. Statistical analyses of membership patterns may throw light on these latent functions of formal organizations and thus suggest areas for further study by more sensitive, qualitative methods. If student sociological reporters can be found to prepare informal group studies of representa-

tive publications, musical clubs, athletic teams, social fraternities, dormitories, and similar groupings, much time can be saved.

For the over-all picture of membership *versus* non-membership, however, there is no substitute for the arduous process of census tabulations, using class year-books or official records as source material. Colleges appear to differ rather strikingly in the extent of student participation, in the number and size of extra-curricular organizations, and in the degree of concentration of student leadership. These differences undoubtedly reflect the cultural values of the various colleges as such.

A further aspect of the "official college" which plays an important role in structuring its social life is its material equipment, its physical plant. The President of a small eastern college recently announced, when the war prevented the completion of a new set of college buildings and campus, that he had something more important to offer the institution than new buildings, namely "a new educational philosophy." But the architecture of college buildings, their grouping, and their setting within the larger community—city, town, or village—may have implications for informal student culture equal in importance to a college president's educational philosophy.

Students who live at home, or in boarding houses, clearly inhabit a different social world from that of the "dorm" student. Each tends, or fails, to develop associations with his next-door neighbors from the mere fact of proximity and availability for joint recreation or work. A dormitory with large, barrack-like rooms, housing numerous students within the same four walls, will tend to create a different style of living from a dormitory with private single or double rooms and with many separate entries.

At a certain girl's college, the dormitories are divided into three or four "floors," each with fifteen or twenty single rooms, a common lavatory and wash-tubs, and a common telephone. There is only one common entry to the building. At a nearby boy's college the new dormitories have ten to fifteen separate "entries," each with eight or ten separate suites, each

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suite having its own latch-key and a private bathroom for one to six students. This difference in architecture clearly fosters a greater degree of "adult" independence at the men's college and a greater degree of social interdependence, at last on each floor, at the girls' college. If a girl has a date her whole floor shares that knowledge. They also know if she fails to "get a date." Thus the architectural plan sometimes contributes to the pressure on the "wall-flower," who in not infrequent cases will feel constrained to accept any "date" as a *faute de mieux* rather than undergo the silent censure of her floor-mates, or will even in extreme cases resort to subterfuge. This particular pressure (undoubtedly for other reasons as well) appears to be absent, or almost absent at the men's college.

The existence of a common path between dormitory and class-room or other gathering place such as an "eating joint" may also affect social patterns. If the commuting involves a bus or train ride the effects may be even stronger.

Technological factors such as heating, lighting, plumbing, and transportation undoubtedly affect social patterns profoundly. Contrast a college fifty years ago with the same college today. The morning trip to the pump on cold winter days probably broke down barriers of reserve and created bonds of solidarity: results quite beyond the potentialities of our "improved" plumbing system. The current effects of gas-rationing are a dramatic case in point.

3. *Informal Organization and Unofficial Cultural Patterns.* The basic demographic and formal organization data, indispensable though they are, would give but a meager picture of undergraduate culture and social structure were they not supplemented by studies of various types of informal student groupings. These are the social bearers of the unofficial undergraduate culture and thus function as socialization agencies at the primary group level, comparable in importance to the family or the play-group in the home community.

In the college community, the cultural data concern the college and its traditions, student possessions, artistic and literary creations, attitudes, norms and values. While

they are observable only in the behavior, feelings, and fantasies of individuals, their existence does not depend on the particular population of students in the college at any given time.

The "Harvard accent," for example, may be modified slightly by each generation of students, but it is not created by them; it lives through them, but also existed before their appearance on the scene and endures after their departure. It constitutes part of the college culture along with the buildings and the curriculum. What is true of speech is also true of norms governing dress, study, humor, sportsmanship, recreation, dating, eating, and the like. This college "culture" is no less important as an indicator of the individual's behavior—in fact, it is frequently more so—than the physiometric, psychometric and anthropometric indices stressed by some investigators.

While the college has its own peculiar structural features, it frequently reflects trends in the larger social setting. Thus two main elements in pre-Pearl Harbor American college culture—socio-political irresponsibility, and the cult of success, with its resultant competitive strains and frustrations—derive from basic characteristics of western culture as a whole. Waller's illuminating study of "the rating and dating complex" on the college campus is only one particular manifestation of traits common to our entire culture: acquisitiveness, competitiveness, the emphasis on feminine sexual attractiveness, and the cult of success. The reasons for its particularly intense expression on the campus are to be found in the *differentia specifica* of college society: the age selection, the "parasitic" existence in a sort of socio-political vacuum, and the pressures and frustrations resulting from rival competitions: for strictly academic distinctions, which are geared in with eventual occupational adjustment, and for more purely social prestige and success.

As far as laws, rules, norms, etc., are concerned it is most important to distinguish "official" statements from "unofficial" interpretations, both by officers of the institution and by the students. Complex situations

sometimes arise where a given set of rules, believed to be enforced by parents and by the general public, are known not to be enforced by college officials and by students. The actual violations of the rules, or of the intent of the rules, could never be admitted publicly; yet tacitly the institution seems to recognize, by permitting the violation, that the deviant patterns are more to be desired than some of the consequences of a stricter enforcement or even of a revision of the rules.

At the other extreme from institutional rules and regulations are the norms governing informal patterns of behavior in intimate groups, such as those governing personal comments by one student about another, especially critical comments. Each intimate group has what might be called a threshold of criticism. Members will accept from other members critical remarks which, if expressed by an "outsider," would elicit violent indignation, since not merely the individual member's but the whole group's integrity would be impugned. Maintenance of a "solid front," as in marital "solidarity," not only protects the members but sometimes imposes harsh sanctions on them if they violate group confidences to "outsiders."

Informal group norms also govern individual behavior in competitive situations. There is pressure for "success," but too much success brings with it certain penalties, notably increased social distance between the winner and the losers. Hence the paradox that the most unpopular girl may be the one who has just won a popularity contest. What is gained comes not merely as a reward for the winner but as a rebuff for those who fail to win. Furthermore, the normal distribution curve automatically places those who "distinguish themselves," either by success or by failure, in a minority group. Thus many individual students actually refrain from doing as well as their aptitudes would allow, for the simple reason that they don't wish to put a barrier between themselves and their less able friends. If such an individual *does* achieve some distinction, then he tends to excuse himself by claiming that the exam was easy, or that he did well by some stroke

of luck—never as a result of ability or of hard work. Far from priding himself on having studied for the test, he will deprecatingly remark, "Why, I never even cracked a book!"

Concealment of honorific *symbols* occurs with respect to "social" distinction. Members of exclusive social clubs are often under oath never to tell an outsider that they are club members. If there are insignia of membership, such as watch charms or neck-ties, it is considered bad taste to wear them—although "social climbers" are expected to display imitations of the real thing! Like football sweaters worn with the letter turned in and Phi Beta Kappa keys kept in bureau drawers, even the symbols of "social" achievement are concealed in order to prevent disruption of other friendship bonds.

In other words, where status is being *achieved*, informal student norms tend to discourage too much achievement; where status is *ascribed*, or already attained, or wherever invidious distinctions are unavoidable for other reasons, student norms tend to suppress at least the tangible symbols of differential honorific status. Norms such as these are the mechanisms which maintain democracy in the informal intimate group. In larger student aggregates, or as between one clique or group and another, symbols of status difference, together with open competition, frequently appear. Some campuses even tolerate, and occasionally nurture, well developed caste systems.

The presence of numerous informal groupings, competitive and non-competitive, reflects the segmentalization of student public opinion. The individual conforms to, and is constrained by, not student norms in general, but those of a particular group or clique. A four-floor dormitory housing sixty girls, for example, had fairly well developed clique cultures at each end of each floor, where architectural segregation bred common interests. An even more isolated pent-house on the roof developed an even more "exclusive" brand of socio-cultural pattern. Incoming freshmen who chose their rooms by the usual criteria of price, location and size soon discovered that the *social structure* of the dormitory introduced a very different set of

considerations and hastened to shift their room if the local clique culture proved too uncongenial.

Norms such as those of informal groups, of fundamental importance in understanding student life, can be studied only by means of student life-history documents, interviews or participant observation. Other aspects of the student's "culture," such as his personal possessions, can be readily observed by the attentive outsider, but their systematic study requires the compilation of student property inventories and data on expenditures, food-habits, and time-budgets. Inventories of the contents of students' rooms can lead to very interesting insights, especially if comparative data are available.

The non-human contents of student rooms consist primarily of four classes of objects: personal apparel; food and drink; equipment for living, working and playing; and decorations.

Clothing and personal style are important indicators of social status and personality adjustment, especially where there is a marked caste system among the students. Differential command over the amenities of food and especially drink in one's own room may also play an important role in the informal social life of the campus. Closely related are habits of "stepping out" for afternoon or late evening snacks. National beverage habits undoubtedly modify student life in this particular. Imagine Oxford without tea, the German university without beer, or the mid-western campus without the corner drugstore!

Equipment for living and working tends to be rather standardized, room for self-expression appearing only in semi-luxury objects. When it comes to playing equipment, however, there is more opportunity for status differentiation, especially in recondite fields such as polo, lacrosse, falt-boating, rock-climbing or skiing.

Decorations proper, that is non-utilitarian objects of aesthetic or sentimental value to the occupant, are readily distinguished in terms of their function in social adjustment. In the corner stands a grandfather clock or some other "heirloom"; on the wall is a

picture of a yacht; from the book-shelves comes the dull glow of fine leather bindings. The casual visitor may be instructed by his host as his eye wanders curiously around the room, but the objects in general convey their own message: the owner is a man of family and wealth—or a very good imposter! Coming back to such a room after a tiring day the occupant can relax into a calm state of security. His possessions confirm his sense of self-confidence.

Here again, as in the case of sports, the more *recherché* the object the greater the vicarious prestige shed upon its owner. Etchings, paintings, statuettes, phonograph collections, all may serve to "place" the occupant. Let the unskillful imitator beware, however, for he readily exposes himself as the mere collector, the ostentatious clown, the tasteless plutocrat—in short, as the *parvenu* or *arriviste* of the student world.

A special study should be made in this connection of the visibility of symbols of ancestral status. Mention has been made of heirlooms. Photographs and portraits of familial antecedents bear direct testimony of one's family social status, while an occasional genealogical chart or "coat-of-arms," or even a copy of *The Social Register*, may indicate a certain degree of individual insecurity which can be overcome only by constant visible reminders of the "unassailable social position" of one's kin group—at least in former times.

Informal Student Groups. No analysis of undergraduate culture would be complete, however, without supplementing mere inventories of culture traits by participant observer studies of the role of informal groups, revealing this culture in its matrix of group life, and showing the dynamic processes of socialization and acculturation which go on constantly behind the façade of the official college.

Informal clique groups, usually of 3-7 members, structure every large social unit, such as a dormitory, in undergraduate society. In a positive sense the informal, intimate friend-group provides the chief area for individual expression for each member; it satisfies the wishes for response, recognition, se-

curity and new experience; it is the closest equivalent to the family in the new strange world away from home. For freshmen, membership in such a group serves to cushion the traumatic experience of the first prolonged separation from parents. Later on, group membership protects those who "belong" from the shocks and rebuffs of the impersonal, crowd-like aspects of the larger college community. No one who "has" such a group need ever fear being a "wall-flower," a social reject. As one college girl has put it:

Every member is sure of recognition by the group, which will, in turn, be recognized by outsiders. We are assured of invitations to visit each others' houses, and to dinner parties before dances. We can count on being invited to all the teas, bridge parties, theatre parties, etc., that go on. . . . There is no sense of inferiority within the group. There, each individual's talents are recognized; each one is loved for her own sake; genuine friendship is the basis of our solidarity, friendship which may grow over three or four years. . . .

On the negative side, the nucleation of every dormitory society into a multiplicity of such closely-knit cliques inevitably leaves a certain number "outside," more intensely outside, indeed, than they would be in an undifferentiated mass of mutual strangers. At common dormitory activities, such as dances, one may check this hypothesis by tabulating the table reservations and comparing the composition of dinner-dance groups with the dormitory clique structure: inevitably the larger parties are dominated or even monopolized by the principal cliques; and while the more sociable rejects band together into unstable associations "for appearance's sake," the least sociable ones retreat to the solitude of their rooms or the library, and to comforting rationalizations on the superiority of the studious life.

Informal groups thus provide positive values for members which could scarcely be obtained in any other way. In part they do this by restraining and controlling their members' behavior. Participation has its rewards, but the price one must pay is rigid adherence to the group code of values. The

penalty is simple and final: ostracism. By discouraging deviant behavior the informal group thus serves to train individuals in the subtler techniques of "getting along" with other people; in adjusting to various types of difficult social situations—that is, "getting by"; and in "getting ahead" in the world by making friends and influencing people. It is from the informal group, not from the formal curriculum, that the college student learns the folkways of American adult society. Even the formal extra-curricular organizations function largely through the control of informal cliques within them. Fraternities and similar organizations are often too large to function as cliques of the sort described, but their dominant culture-patterns may be established and enforced by a clique-like inner circle.

Certain of the influences of the informal group may be disfunctional, complicating rather than facilitating the individual's adjustment to the larger college society and non-college community. Group restraints on "too much distinction" may serve to maintain mediocrity and to discourage effort. Or, group standards of sexual prowess may force the backward individual to undertake a succession of "conquests" which may retard or permanently destroy his chances for eventual marital adjustment.¹

Note on participant observer reports on informal groups in college. Students who wish to try their hand at a "field" study of their own social world may find the following outline of some value. It should be used in conjunction with Florence Kluckhohn's essay on the participant-observer role.² Since their best asset as reporters will be their hearty and undisturbed participation in the group life they are to study, they will have to learn the first rule of scientific observation: Never let your subject know he is being observed.

OUTLINE FOR REPORTS ON INFORMAL GROUPS

- I. *Objective Characteristics of Group Members:*
ethnic background, religious affiliation, occupation of parents, residence, school background, field of concentration, age, and sex.

¹ Cf. the hero's case in Wells Lewis, *They Still Say No*, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1939.

² *American Journal of Sociology*, November 1940.

II. Social Personality of Individual Members

- A. Role in family group.
- B. Other pre-college roles—e.g., in school, in church, in community and various formal and informal community organizations. (Revealing personality documents characterizing the pre-college social personality are diaries and letters written during the half-year just preceding college entrance.)
- C. Future expectancies and levels of aspiration with respect to socio-economic status, occupation, marriage, etc.
- D. Role in informal group in college.

III. Origins of the Group

- A. Out of which pre-existing nuclear elements has the group developed? Motives for joining, and for remaining a member of the group.
- B. Crises or critical experiences which have served to crystallize group or sub-group solidarity.
- C. General lines of growth or evolution of the informal group.

IV. Characteristics of the Informal Group in College

- A. Common activities.
- B. Rough time-budget for group and component members, showing duration of face-to-face interaction and other activities.
- C. Intra-group stratification, with comments on the ranking process and criteria used. (Each member of the group may be asked to rank the other members privately, indicating rank order and criteria. Then the several rankings can be compared and any consistent emphases noted. Certain "sociometric" devices may be of value here.)
- D. Groups within the larger group—pairs, triads, and other combinations of group members other than in the form of the total group. Here it would be interesting to compare the numerically possible number of such combinations with the actual combinations in existence. This will raise the question as to the origin of these intra-group associations.
- E. Symbols of group solidarity: problems of the newcomer and the reaction of the group as in-group *versus* out-group; collaboration in common tasks and in rejection of unwanted outsiders.
- F. Modes of reconciliation of conflict between work duties (remunerative or academic) and standards of sociability.
- G. Definition of group culture: appropriate common interests; common taste in dress, books, movies, etc.; common "style" of humor, stereotypes, private group vocabulary, and group conversation level; group definitions of appropriate behavior in vari-

ous types of activity, e.g., the amount of emotionality permitted to be expressed between members of the group when together or when in pairs or triads, or when with members of the other sex if group is composed of one sex only.

V. Functions of the Group

A. Internal functions.

1. Self-protection manifestations: What does the group do to protect and assist its members (i) in competing for grades, (ii) in competing for dates, and (iii) in other competitive situations?
2. Mutual molding of social roles and ultimately of social personalities within the group. Distinction between positive and negative effects: i.e., Are there some respects in which membership in the informal group works to the disadvantage of the individual in his or her relation to the larger college society?

B. External functions.

The place of the group in the next largest social unit—for example, the dormitory floor or entry, or the dormitory as a whole, or the class, or the college, or the community, or the society at large. Are there any specific out-groups toward which this group adopts a specific behavior pattern: (a) other informal groups in college, (b) groups or individuals of other ages (younger or older members of the family, parents, or other adults such as teachers or leaders of one sort or another)? Is the group on the whole functional or dysfunctional in its effect on student adjustment at the various levels?

Other Sources. The preceding pages have outlined three areas of study which should be covered by a comprehensive "sociology of college life": the undergraduate population, the official college culture, and the unofficial college culture. They have suggested the crucial role of the participant observer in collecting data in at least the last of these three areas, which is the heart of the matter. What other types of sources may be used?

If we assume a knowledge of the general culture and social system within which the college exists, in addition to Participant Observation Data, then, the relevant source materials fall into three main classes: *primary life-history data*, "primary" because furnished directly by actors in the situation being studied; *secondary life-history data*, furnished by non-participant observers; and *fiction*, which, if well founded in fact, may be extremely valuable. In-

sofar as fiction deals with "what might have been as being probable or possible," in Aristotle's phrase, it can lay claim, along with the generalizing social sciences, to scientific generality, as contrasted with History, which merely recounts "what has been."

Primary life-history data may be divided into casual and systematic, the distinction resting on whether the writer or speaker was being intentionally autobiographical.

Casual notes, student scribbles on walls and desks or in the margins of books, may, if systematically studied, throw some light on the college social system. Among other things, such notes on desks may reveal escape fantasies during tedious recitation periods; scribbles on lavatory walls are crude sexual sublimations; an occasional profane attack on a local status figure ("Prof" to him) may release tensions generated over long months of helpless subordination to a faculty taskmaster.

Casual conversation. Techniques similar to those employed by the "Mass Observation" organization in England may be used to study behavior and attitudes throughout a college day, during exam weeks, at a football game, a dance, or a student political rally.

Public utterances (speeches, essays, term papers, poetry, limericks, college songs) constitute a third type of primary casual life-history data. Freshman English themes, especially when not explicitly intended as autobiographical, are sometimes enlightening and always available. All types of student publications may be examined with profit, especially if a long series is available. The *Harvard Crimson* and *Harvard Lampoon* have been appearing for more than fifty years. Even a cursory study of these reveals much about constants and variables in the Harvard social system.

Diaries, still another type of Primary source material, may be extremely illuminating, especially on problems of personal adjustment. Here we are given insight into the individual student's unpremeditated "definition of the situation." Of the two kinds of diaries—the objective, daily, factual record, and the subjective, sporadically written, introspective and frequently cathartic or self-justificatory document—it is the latter which is of particular value, although a faithfully kept day-by-day record may be useful for certain statistical purposes.

It would be a considerable shock to most college teachers if they could see themselves, and their lectures and courses, as they appear in the diaries of their students. The student

would be caught in the act of "defining the situation" not *qua* student, for whom taking college courses is the be-all and end-all of existence, but simply as a normal, frequently perplexed adolescent, struggling to adjust to a difficult world in which listening to Professor X's lectures is one more problem added to many others, such as fixing up the room, getting an allowance increase out of the old man, finding time to learn (surreptitiously) how to dance, recovering from a cold, improving one's tennis, not letting one's neighbor's jibes get under one's skin, and above all "getting by" without flunking Professor X's course.

Diaries covering the half-year before and the half-year after college entrance give clear evidence on the nature of that "transition experience." Many diarists let their diaries lapse in the latter half of the freshman year: the world has begun to move too swiftly. The place of the diary as a cathartic for psychic strains is taken by new intimate friends of either sex, ties with whom are consolidated as the second college year gets under way. Persistence in diary-writing in later years is a rough indicator of maladjustment.

Wherever they are available, *group diaries* constitute a highly illuminating type of source material. One of the better known undergraduate publications at a large eastern university has for many years kept such a group diary—a sort of chronic complaint book in which any board member who chooses can air his views on the state of the publication, the other board members, or the world in general. Feuds which might otherwise disrupt group unity are fought out on the pages of this book, which, with its neutrality and defenselessness, bears the brunt of the argument. Looking back over the shelves of this group diary—several volumes have accumulated each year—one finds a fairly faithful reflection of the unrestrained fantasy life of one active undergraduate organization, with all its ideals, its hates, its obscenities, its witticisms, and its group culture-values laid bare.

Still another, as yet largely unexplored documentary source for studying college society is the *student letter*, and, taken in conjunction with it, the *parental letter*. Both the writing of these letters and the reading of the replies may constitute activities of prime importance in the adjustment of the student.

While all sorts of incidental functions may be performed by the *courtship letter*, such as the imparting of news or the arranging of *rendez-*

vows, the chief "adjustmental" function seems to be the conveying to each correspondent of assurance from the other that someone believes in him, has faith in him, loves him and will not "let him down." The college courtship letter is one long exemplification of Arnold's "Dover Beach": "Love, let us be true to one another. . . ." The mood is only occasionally anxiety over the ultimate uncertainties of life, as in Arnold's poem, however. It is mainly expressive of a desire to escape from the pressures and strains of economic struggle, parental interference, college requirements and social restraints in general.

In one series of almost daily letters from a college girl to her fiancé in another college written during a six-month interval (in 1940) the following recurring themes were noted:

(1) Assurance of love, and of confidence in the ability and future success of the other, expressed most frequently by terms of endearment; (2) assurance of confidence in the firm basis of their mutual attachment ("Nothing can change our love"); (3) gratitude for beautiful shared experiences, both in reminiscence and in anticipation; (4) praise of partner; (5) complaints about lonesomeness during enforced separation and gratitude for the compensatory satisfactions to be found in letter-writing and letter-reading; (6) fantasies about future married life, children, home, etc.; (7) desire for public recognition of their love, as in marriage; (8) expression of feelings of importance attached to physical symbols of their relationship, such as the engagement-ring and other "tokens of love"; (9) pride and feeling of security in one's status as fiancé(e) and spouse-to-be; (10) concern over the well-being of the other; (11) items of personal news selected to please the absent lover; (12) modest self-praise; (13) fear of boring the other or of otherwise falling short of his or her expectations; (14) resentment against home-community and family, which are contrasted with their own "ideal" relationship; (15) anxiety over possible rivals and other threats to their love-relation; (16) general news, not "personal" (extensive introduction of this in the letters gives rise to guilt-feelings and fears of boring the other); (17) reproofs, injunctions, and general advice; (18) pleas for forgiveness for past errors and other short-comings; (19) vows and promises (e.g., never to quarrel); (20) anxiety over the uncertain future, especially in view of the unsettled political situation; (21) pleas for favors: a visit, more letters, and other attentions and

tokens of his or her regard; (22) deprecations of job and college work in contrast to supreme importance of *their* relationship; (23) anxiety over contraceptive methods and possible pregnancy; (24) expressions of psychic security and general euphoria—attributed to their relationship; (25) planning social engagements and secret *rendez-vous* for sexual purposes.

The following is a sample complete letter, dated January 21, 1940:

My darling Tom,

I have thought about you constantly since we parted last night. I missed you before we said goodnight, I was blue on the train, and now I long to see you.

It is consoling, however, to think that no matter how hellish this week is going to be, it is, after all, a week composed of just six days and not one more until we see each other again. On the seventh day we will be in each other's arms again—which is where we both belong and which is where we are always going to stay.

My faith and confidence in you hasn't lessened a bit since last night. Gosh, lamb, to me you are the one super-human among all humans. Maybe I'm silly to adore you so completely, but I don't think so and I know that I always shall. You're my Tom, and I just know that you can whip that history. This isn't a pep talk, I'm just trying to show you the "sure" feeling that I have in my heart that you can do it.

God, Tom, but I do love you. I get that desperate feeling that I can't tell you that *enough* to even half-way express myself. All I can say is that I love you, and hope that you can feel the tenderness, the faith, and the confidence that there is in my heart for you.

I'm praying for you, and loving you, my dearest lamb, and loving you every second we are not together.

Marjory.

The courtship letter is a documentary link in a relatively *symmetrical* relationship: the functions for the writer are roughly equivalent to the functions for the reader, although there may be a certain amount of boy-girl role differentiation. By way of contrast, the child-parent relationship is clearly *asymmetrical*; the functions of the letters exchanged will therefore vary for the parent and for the child, for the writer and for the receiver. Moreover, as in the courtship

letter, there is not strict equivalence between intention and effect: some of the aims which the mother intends to accomplish by writing letters to her daughter at college may not, as a matter of fact, be accomplished; while certain other effects on the daughter, of which the mother may not be aware, may result from the reading. The effect on the daughter-reader may thus vary to some extent independently of the intentions of the mother-writer and *vice versa*.

Since, however, there may be considerable reciprocity of function, it is useful to discriminate certain functions of the mother-daughter letter for the mother, since the mother's attitudes inevitably impinge on the daughter in college. Among these functions for the parent are: (1) opportunity to feel useful and of service to the daughter by transmitting maternal values thought to be prerequisite for "successful adjustment" with respect to college work, health, psychic security, making friends and contacts, cooking, clothing, engagement and marriage, etc.; (2) opportunity to ask for and to receive response from daughter; (3) opportunity to express gratitude and appreciation for daughter's response; (4) self-praise, and especially pride in family and children; (5) sharing confidential information; (6) general projection of ego by recounting daily doings, attitudes, achievements, etc.; (7) opportunity for catharsis in crises, e.g., after death of husband or birth of first grandchild.

These various functions of letter-writing for the parent should be considered in conjunction with various rhetorical techniques or devices for attaining the desired ends: for example, solicitous inquiry about well-being of daughter; assurance of affection and esteem, conveying sense of the daughter's secure status in the eyes of the mother; praise; advice, ranging all the way from pure enlightenment to conscious propaganda.

The functions for the receiver of the letters depend, of course, upon the attitude of the receiver toward the sender. If the attitude is a hostile one, whatever the qualities of the original letters, they will have little or no effect. If the attitude is favorable, the effect will be to enhance the daughter's general orientation and socialization, that is, the acquisition of the values of her parent in all the phases of her life covered by the letters. In the present instance, which is probably atypical, the letters appear to have been sent almost daily. Obviously the total effect of this bombardment of parental values, day after day, granted the favorable at-

titude on the part of the daughter, must have been considerable. In fact it was probably equal, if not superior, to the total effect of all the teachers heard by the daughter while she was in college. If such be the case, then "college" may be regarded as a relatively minor factor in the modification of attitudes which derive primarily from the child-parent relationship. College educators sometimes tend to take a wholly unwarranted, one-sided view of the situation insofar as they assume that parental attitudes are of importance only as a minor influence in the adjustment of the child to college. In many cases the college is peripheral to the family as an educative influence, rather than the other way around.

The parental letter thus sheds considerable light on the perpetuation of pre-college influences in the college culture as experienced by the undergraduate. Students' letters to their parents—which there is no space to analyse here—give evidence of the same fact. The decreasing frequency of child-parent (as opposed to parent-child) letters in the course of the four college years neatly documents the role of the college in the "weaning process."

Systematic primary life-history data, written with definite autobiographical intent, may range all the way from bare *curricula vitae* and responses to *schedules, questionnaires, polls*, and various kinds of *psychological tests*, to statements made in the course of free association and other types of *interviews and sociologically "controlled" life-history documents*.

The usual interview methods may be supplemented in this field by use of the *group interview*. If the investigator can acquire sufficient status within a student group, he may, perhaps with the help of a colleague, use the situation as an opportunity for "drawing out" the students. Occasionally, if barriers of social distance can be broken down—a little beer will help—group euphoria will elicit statements and unconscious revelations of attitude difficult to secure in any other way.

Probably the most generally useful type of documentary source available is the *sociologically directed student life-history*. It should include data on pre-college as well as college adjustments, and incorporate citations from letters of all sorts, diaries, themes and other writings, as well as participant observation data covering phases of the writer's formal and informal group contacts in the college community.

Secondary life-history data, recorded by non-participant observers, include (a) all measure-

ments, photographs, and other "objective" records, (b) status-determining documents and certificates, (c) case-records by specialists such as teachers, deans, social workers and physicians, (d) college histories and biographies, and (e) other sociological and psychological studies of the institution.

Wider Development of this Research. A comprehensive sociology of college life such as has been described in this paper will inevitably be restricted, by scarcity of materials, to the study of local institutions, especially that in which the investigator himself teaches. Eventually, however, by such devices as a central student life-history archive, it should be possible to overcome provincialism and work toward a national and even international scope.

A second type of expansion of the field should work in the direction of including other elements peripheral to the student world but constituting with it the world of higher education. The social functions of college professors, college administrators, academic associations, learned journals, publishing businesses, philanthropic foundations, libraries, museums, and the like, should be explored. Outside the generally recognized sphere of "higher education," the many media of mass communication and public entertainment such as the press, the radio, the movies, sports, and the powerful influences on the formation of opinions should also be studied. These will enable us to understand the wider cultural setting of undergraduate society.

More formidable, though not insuperable, are the problems of cross-cultural investigation in this field. Still, without comparative data from other periods and other cultures, it will be difficult to disentangle the constants from the variables in the American college social system. The analysis of the social role of the student in various types of society, and his relation to the sacred and the learned professions, is one of the many fascinating fields of exploration awaiting investigation. Only the completion of such studies can provide the basis for a comparative sociology of education on a structural, institutional, cultural and functional founda-

tion comparable to Max Weber's *Religionssoziologie*.

Utility. Who is to benefit by the accumulation of all this information? The sociologist surely, since such studies are his stock in trade. The college administrator hopefully, since they should open his eyes to new problems and methods. The social science teacher as well, since he may come to know his students better by understanding the culture in which they live, and may be able, by employing some of the methods of investigation suggested here, to train his students in techniques of careful, cautious, and competent field observation. Last of all, the social science students themselves should benefit, since, by learning how to understand their own social world, they may be able to achieve to some extent that "reality principle," that measure of self-knowledge, detachment and objectivity, which is a prerequisite for all the studies of man.

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COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION

PREDICTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: COMMENT ON THE PAPER BY DR. WEEKS

In a recent paper published in this journal* Dr. H. A. Weeks reported the results of a study attempting to predict delinquency from certain sociological data collected by questionnaire from high school students. By comparison of delinquents with non-delinquents he developed a method of scoring the questionnaire which seemed to differentiate the two groups. In fact, when 500 delinquents were compared with 500 non-delinquents (new samples; not the original criterion groups) he discovered that 201 of the delinquents and only 18 of the non-delinquents received scores over 60. He then concluded that: *"About 90 out of every 100 male juveniles with scores over sixty are likely to be delinquent."* (Italics are the present writer's.)

The purpose of this note is to call attention to a serious oversight in this study, an oversight which has undoubtedly arisen because equal sized groups of delinquents and non-delinquents were studied and comparisons made between percentages of *these groups*. Actually non-delinquents are considerably more frequent in the general population than are delinquents. These actual frequencies must be taken into account in evaluating the predictive efficiency of the scoring plan reported. Dr. Weeks' data show that about 40 percent of his delinquents and 3.6 percent of his non-delinquents scored over sixty on his questionnaire. Let us now assume a sample of 1,000 high school youngsters from which we wish to select for special treatment those likely to become delinquent. Let us assume also that about 5 percent† will become delinquent. Thus in our sample high school population there are about 50 individuals who are likely to become delinquent, and some 950

who are not. Dr. Weeks' scoring procedure would select 40 percent of the potential delinquents, or 20 cases—but they would be mixed up with 3.6 percent of the non-delinquents which numbers 34 cases! In short, instead of 90 percent of the youngsters scoring over sixty being likely to become delinquent, the percentage drops to only 37. And further, 60 percent of the delinquents are not in the identified group, but remain distributed among the 946 who scored below sixty on the questionnaire. Of course by lowering the critical score the number of delinquents included would be appreciably raised, but the number of non-delinquents added at the same time would be so much greater that little would be gained by this procedure. All of the coefficients reported by Dr. Weeks indicating the probability of children having various scores becoming delinquent will be lowered if the correct ratio of delinquents to non-delinquents is applied.

The preparation of prognostic tables for indicating the probability of a child's becoming delinquent, although highly desirable, lies much farther in the future than Dr. Weeks' paper would imply. In the writer's opinion, the preparation of such tables will involve the development and simultaneous use of combinations of approaches (such as Dr. Weeks' sociological questionnaire, psychological tests designed to measure delinquency, case study techniques and so on) as well as considerable refinement of the definition of the problem behavior we label delinquency.

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RESEARCH NOTES

SOME METHODS FOR IMPROVING SOCIOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS

An Abridged Report of the Sub-Committee on
Definition of Definition of the Committee
on Conceptual Integration¹

An Experiment in Conceptual Integration.
Social scientists have been becoming increasingly aware of the chaotic inconsistencies which

* H. A. Weeks, Predicting juvenile delinquency, *American Sociological Review*, 1943, 8, 40-46.

† C. C. Bennett (Problem children, delinquency, and treatment, *Review of Educational Research*, 1940, 10, 440-449) summarized delinquency figures, and concluded that about 1 percent of children of school age become delinquent each year, and upwards of 10 percent become delinquent before reaching maturity. Thus the 5 percent of high school children used here as an illustration is not too far from actual facts.

¹ A limited number of mimeographed copies of the full report, with detailed citation of sources, can be secured by application to Dr. Hornell Hart, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

exist among them with respect to their basic conceptions and definitions. In 1937 a voluntary group was formed, having as its objective the attainment of increasing agreement upon fundamental concepts. This group called itself the Committee on Conceptual Integration. During 1941, under the leadership of Albert Blumenthal, various sub-committees were formed. One of these, consisting of L. L. Bernard, Albert Blumenthal, F. S. Chapin, Lewis Dexter, Maurice Parmelee, and Hornell Hart, Chairman, was assigned the problem of defining definition. Later, on his return to the United States, Stuart C. Dodd was added. The function of this sub-committee was to draw up a basic plan of procedure which might serve as an aid and a guide for work upon the definition of specific sociological concepts. Raymond V. Bowers was subsequently elected Chairman of the C. C. I., and he has made searching criticisms. The present report represents a collective product of conceptual integration by the foregoing group, although no one but the chairman of the sub-committee is to be held responsible for its defects.

I. THE PURPOSES OF SOCIOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS

The following list of basic purposes has emerged out of the discussions and researches of the sub-committee:

1. *Accurate Identification of Symptoms and Causes.* The purpose of any science is to predict in order to control (*Comte's prévoir pour pouvoir*). Successful prediction depends upon establishing a probable sequence between events of the species which is to be predicted and one or more species of symptoms by means of which prediction is to be made. Successful control depends upon establishing a causal sequence between events of the species whose members are to be controlled and one or more species of causes. But such sequences can be neither established nor made use of unless the specified events and their symptoms and causes can be verifiably identified. This reduces to the following specification: That the original researcher, and the utilizer of the researcher's findings, may be accurately instructed what operations and what observations to make under what specific circumstances. This is the primary purpose of definitions when they are employed in research. Other purposes to which sociological definitions should be adapted may be stated briefly as follows.

2. *Comprehensibility.* That sociological writings may be more accurately and clearly com-

prehensible by other sociologists and by non-sociologists.

3. *Inter-consistency.* That the definitions adopted be consistent with each other and with modern science as far as consistency makes satisfactory adjustment easier rather than more difficult.

4. *Reliability.* As a means to the foregoing ends (and subject to other objectives) that those definitions be retained which yield the most constant body of referents during continued use of the term by the definer and among different users of the term defined.

5. *Simplicity.* Subject to the foregoing ends, that the most basic and simple characteristics be used as differentiae.

6. *Consensus.* Subject to the above specifications, that those genera and differentiae be employed which are already most widely in use, or most closely similar in meaning to terms widely in use.

7. *Special Research.* In so far as the foregoing specifications leave any latitude, that the genera and differentiae employed shall be adapted to the immediate and specific purposes of the particular researches in hand.

II. DEFINITION OF COMPETITION AS A WORKING EXAMPLE

1. *The Park and Burgess Definition.* Published in 1920, this definition has been adopted since that date (with various minor modifications) by Dawson and Gettys, Duncan, Elliott and Merrill, Gregory and Bidegood, Lumley, Murray, Ogburn and Nimkoff, Queen and Bodenhafer, Reinhardt and Davies, Reuter and Hart, Sutherland and Woodward, Willigan and O'Connor, and others. A composite of the definitions of this type is as follows:

competition The elementary, universal, continuous or constant, basically unconscious, unemotional opposition, or struggle for existence or for position in the economic order, that takes place between individuals or groups who are not necessarily in contact or communication.

2. *The Ross-Hayes Definition.* The second leading conception of competition was suggested by E. A. Ross in 1920, was elaborated by Hayes in 1925, and has been adopted since that date (with various developments) by Cole and Montgomery, Eubank, Gillin and Gillin, MacIver, von Wiese and Becker, and Wright and Elmer. A composite of the definitions of this type is as follows:

competition That form of opposition in

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which individuals or groups attain ends desired by others in ways which limit or prevent the attainment of those ends by the others, without attacking, destroying, overwhelming, nor directly impeding the efforts of the others, and without coercion or violence.

While most of the sociologists cited above have adopted either the Park and Burgess or the Ross-Hayes definition, Hiller, and Panunzio have attempted to combine both conceptions in their definitions.

3. *The Scarcity Definition.* A third type of definition of competition appears in the writings of Boettiger, LaPiere, Lundberg, von Wiese and Becker, and Wallis and Wallis. A composite of definitions of this type is as follows:

competition That social process in which individuals or groups seek to attain some common or identical objective, which not all can attain fully at the same time because it is scarce or limited in quantity.

Relations Between Competition and Conflict.

When the discussions of competition are studied in their contexts it becomes evident that the chief moot point is the relationship between competition and conflict. Competition and conflict are regarded as component forms of opposition or struggle by Eubank, Hiller, Lumley, Park and Burgess, Ross, Sutherland and Woodward, and Young. Conflict is regarded as a development out of, or a modified form of, competition by Dawson and Gettys, Murray, Ogburn and Nimkoff, and Reinhardt and Davies. Conflict is regarded as a subdivision of competition by Alihan and by Ogburn and Nimkoff. Competition is regarded as being merely indirect conflict by Binder, and by MacIver. Economic competition is regarded as a specialized form of conflict by Reuter. Bernard, (I, pp. 829-42)² uses *conflict* as the basic term; he says: "The milder forms of conflict are generally denominated by the general term 'competition.'"

The Appeal to Examples. In view of the wide divergencies between the schools of thought cited in the foregoing sections, it seems desirable to assemble examples suggested by various sociologists to illustrate what they mean by *competition* and *conflict*. The crucial examples may be grouped into four classes, as follows:

(1) *Unconscious competition:* American laborers and farmers competing with Australian and Argentinian farmers and with Chinese and

German laborers; the competition for jobs by would-be workers who are not individually aware of each other; the competition for the consumer's dollar by producers of diverse kinds of goods; the competition for a husband by women who never even see the girls who marry the men whom these other women might have married; the competition for prestige, attention and opportunity on the part of persons who never become specifically aware of the individuals who absorbed the openings which they might have filled; the struggle of pressure groups to secure special privileges or financial grants by Congress out of the national income or resources.

(2) *Conscious competition:* A. Athletic: Track contests; races; Olympic games; golf. B. Economic: all attempts by rival individuals or establishments who are in face-to-face contact, to secure positions, promotion, customers, contracts, workers, raw materials, goodwill, or other economic advantage where greater success by one means less success by others. C. Political: elections and other political contests, in so far as the candidates offer themselves and their services to the voters without attacking each other, intimidating voters, or attempting to obstruct the efforts of opponents to present their claims. D. Literary: contests for prizes in the fields of oratory, novels, poetry, drama, advertising, etc. E. Scholastic: all grading and degree-granting systems in which a more or less constant proportion fail while another more or less constant proportion receive distinctions. F. Religious: Attempts of different churches to secure members and supporters from the same limited potential constituencies, and of ministers to secure appointment or promotion to more remunerative or influential positions. G. Courtship: struggle between acknowledged rivals for the favors and the hand of a sweetheart. Eubank (10, p. 293) refers to all conscious competition as *rivalry*.

(3) *Unconscious or impersonal conflict.* One of the parties to a two-party line often unconsciously conflicts with the action of the other. Combatants in a war, while conscious of the war itself as conflict, are not usually conscious of the individual combatants on the other side whom they injure or kill, as by artillery fire, dropping bombs on a city, starving populations by a blockade, and other remote and wholesale forms of attack. Similar impersonality may occur in almost any large-scale type of conflict, such as an international retaliatory tariff war. Many aspects of the conflict between science and religion are impersonal and even unconscious.

²Numbers in parentheses refer to bibliography at the end of this report.

(4) *Conscious and personal conflict*. A. Athletic: tug of war, football, tennis, boxing, wrestling. B. Economic: cut-throat competition between local, face-to-face units; strikes, food riots, hi-jacking, robbery. C. Political and military: quarrels, fist fights, duels, feuds, personal combats in war, "dirty" local political contests; struggle of criminals against other gangs and against police; criminal prosecutions; law suits. D. Intellectual: bridge, chess, and games of kindred characteristics; debates; conflict between rival scientific theories.

If it be agreed that foregoing paragraphs (1) and (2) are actually examples of competition, not of conflict, and that paragraphs (3) and (4) are actually examples of conflict, not of competition, certain conclusions as to differentiae between these two concepts emerge. First, as Hayes (13, p. 348) points out, "The difference between conflict and competition does not lie in the presence or absence of social contact." Second, the difference "does not lie in the presence or absence of emotion." Third, "conflict does not necessarily imply hostility." Fourth, in addition to the foregoing points made by Hayes, our examples indicate that duration is not a reliable differentia between competition and conflict. The Park and Burgess type of definition, which seems to have emerged out of a study of the evolutionary process, covers one basically important form of competition, but it is too narrow in its denotation to serve adequately in discriminating between competition and conflict as comprehensive categories of social interaction. (Cf. 11, pp. 605-8.)

The scarcity definition, on the other hand, is too comprehensive, unless we agree with those sociologists who regard conflict as a mere sub-form of competition.

Resulting Definitions. In the foregoing discussion, definitions of competition only have been cited. In preparing this report, however, similar procedures have been applied also to some other closely related terms. Out of this analysis the following definitions have emerged:

social interaction Social processes when analyzed from the standpoint of the inter-stimulations and responses of personalities and groups.

1. *social isolation* The relative absence of social interaction; in its extreme form, the zero degree of social interaction.
2. *cooperation* That species of social interaction in which personalities or groups seek to attain any objective under such conditions that the greater the success

of one personality or group, the greater the success of the others.

3. *social struggle or opposition* That species of social interaction in which personalities or groups seek to attain any objective under such conditions that the greater the immediate or direct success of one personality or group the less the immediate or direct success of the others.

a. *competition* That species of social struggle in which the objective is not part of, nor the property of, any of the opponents, so that attack upon one another is not involved.

b. *conflict* That species of social struggle in which the immediate objective consists of the capture of or damage to part or all of one or more of the struggling personalities or groups, or of their property or culture complexes, or of something to which they have developed attachment, so that the struggle takes the form of attack and defense.

(1) *attack* That aspect of social conflict in which one personality or group seeks to damage the physical, psychological or social structures, or to thwart the purposes, or another personality or group.

(2) *defense* That aspect of social conflict in which a personality or group seeks to prevent damage to itself or its values.

III. METHODS OF DEFINITIONAL RESEARCH

As illustrated by the foregoing section, the Sub-Committee on Definition of Definition has followed, and recommends, a method which has four fundamental aspects:

1. Analytic comparison: should be made of the explicit or implied definitions employed by the investigators who have worked most systematically, comprehensively, and creatively with the data which the proposed new definition is to cover. Analysis should also be made of the definitions offered by sources which are most widely in use, or which represent systematic consensuses of opinion in the field, such as leading textbooks, dictionaries, and encyclopedias. One very useful source is Eubank's *Concept of Sociology* (10), which is based upon the most comprehensive study yet made of sociological terms. *Reuter's Handbook of Sociology* (17), contains a "Dictionary of Terms," with a list

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of 127 sources cited. Panunzio (16), Wright and Elmer (18), and Young (19), have appended briefer glossaries to their texts. At the time of this writing Henry P. Fairchild is engaged in editing a collaborative dictionary of sociology aiming at "summarizing existing usage." All such sources should, of course, be consulted.

2. The essence of the method of making analytic comparisons consists in breaking up each of the definitions studied into units (words, phrases, or clauses) which can be sorted out into more or less uniform classes capable of being reduced to some common summary term. Possible classifications of this sort become evident to the competent investigator as he studies his collection of definitions.

3. Use the case method systematically. Whenever a definition is proposed, let it be applied to pertinent data. Show how the definition works in relation to specific crucial problems in the field for which it is designed. Cases should be used, not as prescientific illustrative anecdotes selected to buttress an argument, but in large, representative, and published samples of the definiendum. Such cases serve first to refine the definitions and thus arbitrate between or among them. Part of this paragraph might be summarized in the suggestion: "Develop denotative definitions as an intermediate step toward connotative definitions."

4. Invite others who are interested and competent to collaborate. Solicit constructive and critical contributions from each. Formulate, in language acceptable to all, the agreements which emerge. Clarify the issues which persist. Prepare a report which represents the fullest attainable consensus of opinion of those who are competent in the field and who are willing to cooperate.

IV. THE ESSENCE OF DEFINITION

The Species-Genus-Differentiae Type of Definition. The procedures just described have been applied, not only to certain fundamental sociological definitions, but also to the definition of definition itself. Current authorities on logic agree substantially upon the following:

A *definition* is a statement of identity of meaning between two expressions: the expression which is being defined (*definiendum*) and the defining expression (*definiens*). The definiendum always represents a concept, which refers to some class (or *species*) of individual objects, physical or mental. The definiens usually consists of (a) naming a more inclusive class (called

the *genus*) within which the species to be defined belongs; and (b) enumerating the *differentiae*, or specific characteristics which are necessary and sufficient to distinguish all members of this species from all other members of the genus. The species, genus, and differentiae employed are not absolute, but are selected relative to the definer's purposes and his frame of reference.

Relations Between Definitions and the Objects to Which They Refer. Every definition involves relations between the term defined (*definiendum*) and two other sets of things: first, the objects properly referred to by the definiendum; and, second, the concepts (genus and differentiae) involved in segregating this group of objects from other objects. The *extension* of a term consists of all the real objects to which the term may correctly be applied. The *denotation* consists of the extension plus also the potential and imaginary objects to which the term might correctly be applied. The *intension* or *connotation* consists of all the concepts which might be used as genus or differentiae in any definition of the term.

In formal logic a definition of a term consists of the necessary part of that term's intension, or connotation. But under the influence of the positivistic movement it has become fashionable in some circles to assert that "extensional definitions" are far superior to intensional definitions.³

One has only to analyze typical samples of sociological writings to discover that they are often very weak on the extensional side. Sociologists have been prone to juggle with abstract terms, without bothering to explore systematically the concrete referents to which the concepts back of those terms presumably apply. But there are also considerable numbers of sociological statistical research reports that are strongly extensional and very weak in their working out of intensional connotations.

The absurdity of the idea that we can think clearly either by attempting to be exclusively extensional or by trying to be exclusively intensional becomes apparent if we ask two questions: First, how is the exclusively extensional thinker to decide which objects to point to and which ones to reject? Second, how is the exclusively intensional thinker to verify the truth or ascertain the falsity of any extensional proposition?

³E.g., see Korzybski (14, pp. 15, 173, 180) and Hayakawa (12).

Denotative Definitions. In spite of the pedantry and confusion connected with the terms denotation, extension, connotation and intension, there is at least one development in this field which has proved practically helpful in the attempt to improve specific sociological definitions. This is the denotative definition, which MacKaye (15, pp. 71-74) discusses as follows:

Denotative definition is a process of selecting specimens of A and non-A, and it is not a matter of indifference how they are selected. The specimens of A should be as representative of the class as possible; they should constitute a fair sample of it, and not be restricted to some section, lest they represent only a sub-species of the species to be defined. . . . The specimens of non-A, on the other hand, should include a large proportion from near the border-line. They should be specimens of non-A which quite closely resemble A, so that the line between the classes may be as clear-cut as practical. . . . It is often useful to add a third column of doubtful specimens to the denotative definition. (Cf. 8, pp. 229; 9, pp. 180-3.)

In the illustrative material on competition the examples of *unconscious competition*, *conscious competition*, *unconscious or impersonal conflict*, and *conscious and personal conflict* constitute simple denotative definitions of those terms, while the four groups of examples as a whole are an approximation to a more adequate denotative definition of *competition* and *conflict* in general.

In the present study as a whole this sub-committee has taken the position that we need to think both intensionally and extensionally. We have made analytical comparisons of various theories about definition. Then, having reached certain tentative conclusions about the theory of definition, we have collected large samples of definitions of specific terms, and series of crucial examples (denotative definitions) of the terms defined. We have then tried to fit together the theories of definition, the actual definitions and the extensional data to which the definitions are supposed to apply. As we have proceeded we have found that our theories of sociological definition have been progressively and fundamentally modified by this continuous interaction of concepts and data—of intension and extension.

V. ANALYTICAL DIVISION OF SOCIAL GENUSES

The Logical Theory of Division. Bernard, and Blumenthal, in their contributions to the work

of this sub-committee, have pointed out that it is often useful to enumerate the component sub-classes which make up a species. Logicians refer to this as *division*. Rules involving substantially the following points are usually given:

1. The constituent sub-classes must exclude each other.
2. The constituent sub-classes, when added together, must be equal to the species.
3. The division must be founded upon one principle or basis.

In the present section of this report it is proposed to illustrate division in relation to *social processes*.

Definitions of "Social Processes" and "Social Interaction." The methods already described have been used to derive the following composite definitions:

social processes Those regular, recurrent modes of activity whereby social structures emerge, arise or become organized; develop, evolve or grow; change; function; and disintegrate, become disorganized, or disappear.

social interaction Any social process involving stimulation and response, or reciprocal modification, between personality and personality, between personality and group, or between group and group.

But are there any other kinds of social processes besides social interaction? As the terms are defined by the consensus of contemporary sociologists, any social process must involve social interaction. The actual usage of the two terms is rather indiscriminate. The types of social interaction most frequently mentioned, in 37 sociological texts examined for this purpose by the chairman, are *accommodation*, *assimilation*, *competition*, *conflict*, and *cooperation*. But these terms are all referred to as social processes nearly as often, or oftener, than they are as forms of social interaction.

On the other hand, though social change is used more often than any other word in defining social process, it is rarely if ever classified as a form of social interaction. Textbooks on sociology usually have a group of chapters on various forms of social interaction, and then have a separate chapter or group of chapters on social change. Many texts also have chapters on personality adjustment and maladjustment. These sociological usages can all be brought into one plan of division if we accept the composite definition of *social process*, as given earlier in this section, and then adopt the following division of social processes into three sub-classes:

social interaction Social processes when ana-

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lyzed from the standpoint of the inter-stimulations and responses of personalities and groups.

social change Social processes when analyzed from the standpoint of the development and disintegration of culture complexes.

personality adjustment Social processes when analyzed from the standpoint of changes which occur in the individual and the effects of those changes upon the long-run interests of the individual.

A Tentative Classification of Social-Process Concepts. Omitting from the present report the concepts specifically related to personality adjustment, the concepts most directly connected with the processes of interaction and change may be classified tentatively as in the following outline. This outline does not constitute a logical division of the field, for the underlying principles for such a division have not yet been sufficiently clarified by sociologists. These groupings may be regarded, however, as one of the preliminary steps.

I. Social Interaction (Association**)

Communication**

A. Isolation*

1. Subtypes

- a. Geographical
- b. Biological
- c. Socio-psychological
cultural
attitudinal

2. Semi-isolation and absence of domination:

anarchy; laissez-faire; independence; autonomy; freedom; liberty; social distance; social disorganization**

3. Processes tending toward isolation:

avoidance; withdrawal; emigration; non-conforming; segregation*; rejection; liberation; individualization; differentiation*; disorganization**

B. Opposition* (struggle*)

1. Competition***

struggle for existence; commercial rivalry; emulation; other rivalry

2. Conflict***

aggression; attack; defense; rebellion

C. Cooperation***

1. Accommodation**

- a. Adjustment*
adaptation*; compromise*; arbitra-

tion; adjudication; toleration; discussion; socialization**

b. Mutual aid

alliance; federation; democracy; conciliation; exchange

2. Assimilation**

imitation; suggestion*; sympathy; education*; training; amalgamation*; fusion; acculturation; conversion; unification; coordination; consolidation; integration; merging; recruiting; domestication

D. Social organization

1. Specialization

subordination-superordination; stratification*; leadership-followership; election

2. Social control

regulation; inducement-deterrence; rewarding-punishing; taboo; propaganda; indoctrination; legislation; policing; commanding-forbidding; conforming-non-conforming; obeying-disobeying

3. Domination*-submission

paternalism; exploitation; fraud; coercion*; conquest; subjugation; enslavement

II. Social change**

innovation; invention*; discovery; diffusion; revolution; social evolution*; progress**; regress; amendment; improvement; revision; pioneering; research; experimentation; promotion

VI. DEGREES OF PRECISION IN DEFINITIONS

Up to this point our report has dealt with the essential nature of definitions; and with the ways in which definitions are related to each other in providing the boundaries of areas, sub-areas, and sub-sub-areas of sociological thought. We now turn to consideration of the precision with which definitions distinguish between the species which they define.⁵

Three Sub-Types of Species-Genus-Differentiae Definitions. When we seek for definitions more reliable than mere synonyms and antonyms the crucial question becomes: What must be the nature of the differentiae—the "specific marks or traits" by means of which the subject of the definition is to be distinguished from other species of the same genus which, if substituted for it, would frustrate the purposes of those who use the definition.

⁵ Assimilation is usually treated under social interaction, but it involves also social change.

⁶ See Bernard (2).

*Astericks refer to scores indicating the relative emphasis placed upon these concepts in recent sociology texts, as indicated by ratings based on tables of contents and indexes of 37 texts.

Three basic types of differentiae are used, depending upon the immediate purposes of the definer. If his purpose consists in facilitating the production and obtaining of things of the species in question, the definition should be *genetic*. If his purpose consists in selecting such things from among a variety of objects already available, the definition should be *identifying*. If his purpose consists in breaking down the object into subdivisions, with a view to establishing categories for research and exposition, the definition should be *analytical*.

Genetic Definitions. A teacher's specification as to how a term paper is to be prepared or a bibliography produced, a set of instructions as to how to calculate a standard deviation or a coefficient of correlation, a statement of the essential steps to be taken in setting up a community chest—these may properly be considered as being genetic definitions of the respective species of products which they aim to create.

The Identifying Type of Differentiae. The second basic type of definition expresses the differentiae not in terms of the operations by means of which objects referred to by the definiendum may be produced or acquired, but in terms of the tests by means of which they may be identified when already in existence and accessible. The composite version of the Park and Burgess definition of competition on page 334 of this report is of the identifying type. The identifying type is suitable in all definitions used for purposes of statistical enumeration and classification, and all definitions for purposes of diagnosis.

All-Or-None, Versus Gradational, Identifying Definitions. In statistical analysis the distinction between qualitative and quantitative categories is basic. When the census classifies persons according to race, color, occupation and so on it is using qualitative categories; when it classifies them according to age, earnings, rentals paid, and so on it is using quantitative categories. Both of these two classes of categories require identifying definitions in order that enumerations shall be reliable. For the qualitative categories differentiae are set up which seek to establish all-or-none discrimination—i.e., each object submitted for classification should (as far as possible) be completely included or completely excluded. But for the quantitative type of category a gradational definition is required, in which differentiae begin with some such phrase as "which can be measured by . . ."

Analytical Definitions. This third sub-type of species-genera-differentiae definition includes

all those in which the genus involves some synonym of "sum total" or "whole," and where the differentiae consist in enumerating the parts of which this whole is made up, for the purpose of establishing research or expository categories. Of 100 definitions of *personality* which have been analyzed by the chairman of this sub-committee, 49 are of the analytical type.

Structural definitions include all analytical definitions plus those genetic and identifying definitions which use enumerations of constituent parts as differentiae. This category cuts across the basic classification, but it represents a fairly obvious classification of definitions, and the term is already in use.

The Essence of Operational Definition. All real definitions are both verbal and operational. They are verbal in that they are stated in words (or in mathematical symbols) and in that they are related to other terms in a system. They are operational in that they specify operations and observations which are to be performed. All types of definition involve both operations and observations. In the genetic type the operation is creative, and the observations consist in observing the thing created. In the identifying type the operation consists in doing something to or with the object and observing the reaction.

Even in a purely synonym definition these two processes are implicit. When we make use of such a definition as "Conflict is struggle," the operation consists simply in turning one's attention to phenomena to which the definition is to be applied, and observing whether or not they consist in struggle. Thus, in synonym and antonym definitions, the operations are very simple, but the observations are complex, vague, and subject to wide errors of judgment, and to disagreements in opinion.

In ordinary definitions which state genus and differentiae of species, the differentiae consist in characteristics which must be observed, and in order to observe it is necessary to perform such operations as turning one's gaze, touching the object, or performing some mental process. Nothing has any "characteristics" or "functions" except as these can be observed, or inferred from observations, by performing the necessary operations.

To make definitions more reliable it is necessary to reduce the specified observations to more rudimentary, precise, and unmistakable form. This can be done by breaking the observations up into simple elements, but to do this it is usually necessary to make the operations more complicated.

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As the operations become more and more explicitly stated and checked up, the informal definition becomes transformed into an operational measuring-instrument definition. When this has been carried out with systematic rigor and thoroughness, it involves (as Chapin puts it) the operations of constructing and then using a scale of reference calibrated to describe and identify differences between individuals or groups in the degree to which they possess a trait of a given kind. As an example of this process, consult the sections and chapter entitled "Marital Adjustment Defined," "Personality Interaction and Marital Adjustment," and "Measuring Adjustment in Marriage," in Burgess and Cottrell's *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, 1939. (4) It should be noted that *adjustment* as used in the passages cited is approximately an antonym of *conflict*.⁶

Statistical Reliability of Definitions. Reliability is a statistical index measuring the degree of agreement among reobservations of the same phenomena. Reliability is thus a fundamental scientific criterion for selecting between rival definitions.

Scientists do not trust instruments of observation without knowing their reliability, *i.e.* now dependably, now precisely, they work on repeated observation of the same thing. Psychologists have achieved the scientific standard of demanding that the author of a new test determine and report its reliability indices.

A simple reliability technic, among many possible ones, is to ask competent judges to classify each of a representative collection of cases of the definiendum on the basis of two or more formal definitions that are to be tested. In every possible pair of judges, compute the percentages of cases identically classified under

each definition, and calculate the average of these percentages for each definition. That definition for which this average proves to be higher (assuming that the difference between these averages is statistically significant) will be the more reliable. The conditions should, of course, be kept constant—*i.e.*, the same judges and the same published list of cases should be used.

Shall Our Definitions Include "Private" Operations and Observations? A public phenomenon is one which is observable by more than one person. A private phenomenon is one which is observable by only one person. If these definitions be tentatively accepted, it becomes clear that, whenever private operations or observations are involved in a definition, we must rely upon reports of those operations and observations rather than upon direct verification by independent observers. The reports are subject to distortion through emotional bias and through defects in understanding. The more we can place our reliance upon public phenomena the more reliable our verifications will become. In seeking differentiae for operational definitions it is well to look for characteristics relating to time, space, materials, and simply sensory and physical effects, in so far as these are available and are pertinent to the problem in hand.

Often, however, sociological investigations hinge upon the study of essentially private phenomena, such as values. If that is the case the attempt to confine research to public data may increase reliability at the expense of losing validity. But the study of private phenomena does not necessarily involve loss of all reliability. Even though we cannot directly observe each other's values, we can carry out such researches as getting numbers of individuals each to make a relative scale of certain of their own inner values, and we can correlate statistically the values arrived at in such scales. Very high reliabilities have actually been obtained in such an investigation at Duke. If we can understand each other's consciousness at all, in informal social relations, we can progressively refine the processes by which these understandings are achieved, and can learn to make more and more accurately verifiable prediction about human behavior.

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AN APPRAISAL OF THE 1936 RELIGIOUS CENSUS*

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Anyone studying the 1936 Census of Religious Bodies carefully will recognize that it provides only an incomplete enumeration of churches and the resulting church statistics. In order that the accuracy of this Census may be evaluated and its findings used more intelligently, it is desirable that its extent of error and degree of bias, if any, be determined. Until such a detailed study is available, the study here reported may serve as a tentative appraisal of the completeness of enumeration and the representativeness of the 1936 Census of Religious Bodies.

The study is based on a comparison of returns from official statistics of denominations with those of the 1936 Religious Census for 13 church

bodies in the State of Washington. A strictly accurate comparison was not possible because the denominational statistics covered the year 1937 rather than the Census year.¹ It is believed however, that this fact does not seriously limit the validity of the conclusions drawn, since it is well known that churches as a whole are comparatively stable, their membership generally changing little from one year to the next.² At any rate the annual changes are scarcely great enough to account for the more striking disparities found.

Official statistics of church bodies may or may not represent an accurate statement of conditions as of a given time. Non-reporting churches, for example, may be listed in a directory for several years after they have ceased to operate. In the absence of a field check to determine the extent of this or other inaccuracies in the directories it is assumed for present purposes that the denominational directories are complete and that the completeness of Census returns may be estimated by comparing them with the denominational directory listings.

A careful scrutiny of the data indicates that the 1936 Religious Census represents only a large proportion of the total number of churches. Enumeration of churches usually is incomplete, and for certain denominations is far more incomplete than for others.³ The data appear, fur-

¹This paper is an outgrowth of a study of trends in rural church membership and finance in Washington. In a comparison of directory returns for 1937 with 1936 Census figures on membership, marked discrepancies were noted. Careful checking revealed no significant errors in tabulation. It was decided to investigate the matter further, to see in what respects the two sets of data were dissimilar. This paper presents the main findings of that inquiry.

²Ample justification for this statement was found when membership figures from the two sets of statistics were compared by counties for the individual denominations. Often the figures were identical or varied by only one or two percent; in other cases it was clearly apparent that a church or two had been omitted in the Census tabulation, for the addition of the membership of the church or churches to the Census total gave virtually the same figure obtained from the directories. It was not possible to apply this test in the more populous counties because of the larger numbers involved.

³T. Lynn Smith, in *The Sociology of Rural Life*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940, pages 88-90, gives a good brief appraisal of the weaknesses and the value of the 1936 Religious Census. He recognizes these limitations, but apparently accepts the Census as a representative sample of all denominations.

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ther, to warrant the conclusion that this large proportion of churches is not representative of the total, since the enumeration of certain types of churches is far more complete than that of other types of churches.

The first index to the accuracy of the Census is the number of churches reported. In this respect the Census shows up well, for its total of 981 churches in the 13 bodies is 93 percent complete when compared with the directory total of 1,051 churches (Table 1). By individual church bodies, however, the figures show more

Census agree exactly with the number shown in the official directory.

It was possible to compare the two sets of data also on the number of rural and urban churches, the dividing line being the usual one of 2,500 population in the town where the church was located. Using this index, the Census seemed to have been more successful in obtaining reports from urban churches than from rural, since the number of the former was 96 percent complete, of the latter only 91 percent complete. However, for five of the church bodies the ratio

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF CENSUS AND DIRECTORY SOURCES ON NUMBER OF CHURCHES, URBAN AND RURAL, IN WASHINGTON, BY CHURCH BODIES

Church Body	Number of Churches						Index of Completeness (Dir. = 100)		
	Total		Urban		Rural		Total	Urban	Rural
	Cen.	Dir.	Cen.	Dir.	Cen.	Dir.			
Northern Baptist	113	129	64	79	49	50	88	81	98
Congregational	129	144	45	53	84	91	90	85	92
Episcopal	94	86	54	53	40	33	109	102	121
Methodist (M.E.)	232	271	80	93	152	178	86	86	85
Presbyterian (in USA)	174	161	86	68	88	93	108	126	95
Nazarene	47	52	22	23	25	29	90	96	86
Brethren	12	16	8	7	4	9	75	114	44
Evang. and Reformed	7	8	6	6	1	2	88	100	50
Lutheran:									
Amer. Luth. Ch.	37	41	13	17	24	24	90	76	100
Augustana Syn.	26	26	18	18	8	8	100	100	100
Free Church	21	23	8	10	13	13	91	80	100
Synodical Conf.	75	79	40	38	35	41	95	105	85
United Luth. Ch.	14	15	13	13	1	2	93	100	50
All bodies	981	1051	457	478	524	573	93	96	91

variation. In four denominations less than 90 percent of the churches were enumerated, whereas in two denominations the Census reported more churches than the denominational directory listed. The methods used in gathering the Census data amply explain the underenumeration of local congregations; to explain the overenumeration is more difficult, unless it be attributed to an error in calculations or in classification of denominations.⁴ For only one church body did the number of individual churches reported by the

of rural churches reported was higher than that of urban.

In a few cases it is likely that there were errors in the allocation of individual churches to the rural and urban categories. This was most apparent in the Brethren group, where the Census showed eight urban churches, the directory only seven. A church designated by the directory as being four miles northwest of a small city possibly was considered urban by the Census because of its post office address, whereas its open-country location should have classified it as rural. With the transfer of this one church, the Census and the directory figures for urban churches of this denomination become identical, although there still remains a serious underenumeration of rural churches.

⁴It is probable that some local churches were abandoned during the year intervening between the date of the Census and the denominational reports. It is unlikely, however, that this factor would cause so large a difference.

More serious than the possible misallocation of individual churches to the rural and urban categories is the exaggeration of the numerical importance of urban churches which sometimes resulted. The Census reported that two-thirds of the churches of the Brethren group, for example, were urban, whereas the directory data indicated that nine of its 16 churches were rural. The Synodical Conference Lutheran group likewise was shown by the Census to have a majority of urban churches, whereas directories of the conference indicated that its rural churches out-

While for all bodies combined there was only a slight difference in the percentage that urban was of total membership as reported by the Census and by the directories, in a few denominations there were marked discrepancies. For example, the Census showed the Brethren group had 74 percent of its membership in urban churches but the directories showed only 63 percent urban. Conversely, the Census showed the American Lutheran Church as clearly rural, with only 44 percent of its members in urban churches. Official statistics of the church body,

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF CENSUS AND DIRECTORY SOURCES ON NUMBER OF CHURCH MEMBERS, URBAN AND RURAL, IN WASHINGTON, BY CHURCH BODIES

Church Body	Number of Church Members						Index of Completeness (Dir. = 100)		
	Total		Urban		Rural		Total	Urban	Rural
	Cen.	Dir.	Cen.	Dir.	Cen.	Dir.			
Northern Baptist	19,726	25,998	15,551	21,512	4,175	4,486	76	72	93
Congregational	15,003	15,817	10,454	10,931	4,549	4,886	95	96	93
Episcopal	18,496	20,935	16,484	18,978	2,012	1,957	88	87	103
Methodist (M.E.)	40,978	52,995	27,680	36,637	13,298	16,358	77	76	81
Presbyterian (in USA)	33,983	34,057	27,817	28,209	6,166	5,848	100	99	105
Nazarene	3,317	3,772	2,497	2,659	820	1,113	88	94	74
Brethren	1,132	1,966	836	1,243	296	723	58	67	41
Evang. and Reformed Lutheran:	863	845	820	752	43	93	102	109	46
Amer. Luth. Ch.	5,204	6,018	2,284	2,955	2,920	3,063	86	77	95
Augustana Syn.	6,534	6,988	6,066	6,451	468	537	94	94	87
Free Church	2,368	2,338	1,277	1,603	1,091	735	101	80	148
Synodical Conf.	9,005	9,563	6,463	6,983	2,542	2,580	94	93	99
United Luth. Ch.	3,650	4,178	3,609	3,975	41	203	87	91	20
All bodies	160,259	185,470	121,838	142,888	38,421	42,582	86	85	90

numbered the urban. For most denominations there were evident differences between Census and directory statements on the proportions of rural or urban churches. It should be noted, however, that despite wide variations in individual denominations in the aggregate these differences tended to cancel out.

The Census data on church membership reveal better the completeness of enumeration of the 1936 Census. In contrast with the directory total of 185,470 members in the 13 church bodies being analyzed, the Census reported only 160,259 members, or 86 percent of the directory total (Table 2). Rural membership seems to have been reported more adequately than urban, 90 percent complete as against 85 percent of the urban membership.

however, indicated that 49 percent of the members were urban.

These rural-urban data, compared with those indicating the percentage of churches reported, suggest a possible direction of bias in the Census. The rural churches enumerated were quite representative from the membership standpoint, 91 percent of all rural churches containing 90 percent of the total rural membership. Urban churches, on the other hand, were decidedly biased in favor of the smaller city congregation, since 96 percent of the churches contained only 85 percent of the urban membership.

Additional evidence on the same point is found in the average membership per church as reported by the Census and as calculated from the directories. The Census indicated that the av-

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erage membership per church for these 13 bodies combined was 163; the directories indicated an average of 176.⁵ As previously found, there was a greater difference in the urban churches, the Census urban average of 267 members being only 89 percent as great as the directory average of 299. Again the Census reports for rural areas were far more representative, the average membership of the Census rural church being 73 as compared with the 74 calculated from directory sources. In three denominations the average membership per church reported in the Census was greater than that recorded in the directories; in several denominations the data were closely comparable. In the majority, however, there were decided differences which indicated fairly clearly that the Census included an unduly large representation of the smaller urban churches.

Comparisons between Census and directory statistics for the 13 church bodies also were made for certain financial indices, but because of space limitations these are not fully discussed. They support the observation that the smaller churches bear an unduly heavy weight in the Census totals. For example, the valuation of the average church edifice as reported by the Census was \$13,105, the corresponding directory figure was \$14,581. Likewise, the average debt per church reporting debt and the average annual expenditures per church were lower for the Census than for the directory churches. The average debt per church reporting debt was \$5,756 for Census churches, \$6,746 for those listed in the directories. Average annual expenditures per church as reported by the Census were \$2,252; the corresponding directory figure was \$2,594. As was found in other connections, usually there were marked differences between Census and directory data for individual denominations. To cite merely one example, the Census reported \$2,225 as the average amount expended by churches of the United Lutheran Church body, whereas the directories of this body indicated the average was \$3,509.

Conclusions. From the preceding analysis describing the findings of a limited sample study,

⁵ A possible bias is introduced at this point. All churches enumerated by the Census reported their membership, whereas some churches listed in the directories gave no membership statistics. Nevertheless, these churches were included in averaging the directory-reported membership, their membership being regarded as 0. This bias pulls down the average membership data as calculated from the directories and thus narrows the gap between them and the Census.

the following conclusions in respect to the 1936 Census of Religious Bodies appear warranted.

(1) The enumeration of churches and church statistics was roughly 90 percent complete—a favorable showing in view of the methodological obstacles. (2) Urban churches were more completely enumerated than were rural churches. (3) The rural churches enumerated were typical of rural churches as a whole, whereas the urban churches enumerated usually were smaller in membership and less wealthy than the urban average. (4) Data for the individual denominations often were greatly at variance with the official statistics of the church bodies, but in the aggregate, with all bodies considered as a whole, the Census reflected the situation adequately. This conclusion is subject to the limitation that the Census usually understated the situation by about 10 percent, as noted in conclusion 1 above.

It is apparent from this analysis that the Census does not present a satisfactory summary of the statistics of individual church bodies even though it is fairly adequate for churches as a whole. If the Religious Census is to be repeated in 1946, steps should be taken soon to improve the methodology that it may achieve greater accuracy. Census officials, church leaders, statisticians, and social scientists might well collaborate in working out the details of an improved Census of Religious Bodies. Sociologists who are interested in the subject would do well to formulate their views for presentation to officials of the Census Bureau.

SOCIOLOGY STUDENTS IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

A. STEPHEN STEPHAN
*Stout Institute**

Teaching sociologists can help fill the gap in leadership in community organizations by having their students participate as leaders in girl scout troops, boy scout troops, and other agencies. Many sociologists are aware that the war has drained much of the leadership in community organizations and institutions. Not all of them may be aware of this, for some who spend practically all their time in offices, classrooms, and homes, by-pass the communities in which they live. This writer is not without guilt.

The drain of men leaders is obvious, but there is also a dearth of women leaders with many of them going into war industries and others engaging in war activities such as Red Cross

* Menomonie, Wisconsin.

surgical dressing groups and in civilian defense. Such work is commendable, but the community which regards normal peace time agencies as being of continuing value is going to pay the price of neglect. Community organizations are now, to a great extent, led either by leaders who served in peace time and now give only a limited amount of time to these activities or by less experienced adults who are also pressed for time.

In a small way, I have attempted through my sociology classes to help solve the leadership problem by having students carry on much of the direction and work in the local girl scout troops and to a minor degree in the boy scout activities. Like my colleagues, in teaching sociology, I require a term paper. Those students who are interested in acting as assistant scoutmasters in local girl scout and boy scout troops are permitted and encouraged to do this as a term project in lieu of the ordinary library or "general observation" term paper. I get in touch with the sponsoring organizations and assign two students to each troop.

Resourceful students need not have had experience as boy or girl scouts or as scoutmasters to successfully carry on such work. The students plan the activities and provide the leadership under the direction of the adult scout leader. They work on projects for a semester and then a new group takes over. However, the old students continue for four weeks and help to "break in" the new students. Each student keeps a diary of her work and writes a brief paper giving a "picture" of the members of the troop with respect to their social and economic backgrounds. This paper and the estimates from adult leaders of the work of each student furnish a basis for grading the term project.

The students have taken to this work with enthusiasm. I have asked them not to displace the adult leaders and not to take their places if asked to assume full responsibilities. This is suggested in order to keep the adults pressed for time and absorbed by war work as they are, from altogether giving up their community responsibilities.

This sort of project can be defended on grounds other than those of providing needed leadership. Students are provided with a contact with the community, they are given an opportunity to demonstrate and develop their talents for organization and leadership, they have a chance to apply some common sense sociological knowledge and observe the operation of a functioning group, and furthermore they are making a contribution to the community in

which they are living, even though they are only temporary residents.

Stout Institute, in which I teach, is a Wisconsin state teachers college specializing in the preparation of women teachers in home economics and men (what few are left at this writing) teachers in industrial arts and vocational education. The students, being future teachers, are required to do practice teaching and I have been told that the women sociology students who have had the experience of working with the scout troops more readily accommodate themselves to their jobs as practice teachers.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The 1943 Census of Research Projects will appear in the August number.

Eastern Sociological Society. At the dinner meeting on April 10 at the Hotel Martinique, New York, President Lundberg presented a novel and unorthodox program, which incidentally, omitted any presidential address. The *pièce de résistance* was the showing of a Nazi propaganda film and its psychoanalysis by Gregory Bateson. Discussion and comment opined that Bateson's analysis presented: (1) some things which are familiar to sociologists and common sense, (2) symbolisms and interpretations dear to the psychoanalyst but either unverified or unverifiable by scientific methods. For example, it was clear why the Nazi scenario writer pictured the communist youth organizations as sensual and demoralized and the Nazi youth as beautifully ordered, high-minded and patriotic. It was clear that these pictures were distortions or exaggerations of facts for the purpose of influencing audiences to favor Nazism. But that the knife which was promised as a gift to the conflict-ridden youth was to the author or presumptive audience, a "symbol of virility" and not merely a customary object of boyish wishes, was not equally acceptable to the hard-boiled sociological hearers.

Yet we suspect that something was gained in the mutual understanding between psychoanalytic anthropology and sociology. Dr. Bateson's analysis suggested a number of principles and hypotheses regarding primary group interaction and the possibilities of studying it with fresh insights through the medium of the literary and dramatic arts. Sociologists have been, relatively, negligent of these methods. As Bateson enthusiastically admitted, we need to find some opportunity to study a piece of propagandistic drama in connection with a detailed inquiry into the author's mind and a detailed observation of the whole process of criticism, revision, production, and audience reaction. In the meantime, the hunches and tentative pattern-formulations of the psychological anthropologists are being recognized as more useful in public policy and the conduct of the war, than the sterile and negative "findings" of many other scientists who refuse to

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Robert Lynd was elected President, E. Franklin Frazier, Vice-President, Bernhard Stern, Secretary-Treasurer, and Paul F. Cressey, member of the Executive Board. [Ed.]

The Northern Division of the *Pacific Sociological Society* held an abbreviated session in Salem, Oregon, April 16. Dr. John C. Evans, Superintendent, Oregon State Mental Hospital, was the host for the luncheon. More than 40 people, including Governor Earl Snell, administrators of state institutions, and other state officials, attended this noon session.

The central theme for the luncheon meeting was "American Correctional Institutions in Wartime." Mr. David Lockwood, Director of the Washington State Department of Finance, Budget, and Business, acted as chairman. Mr. Richard A. McGee, Supervisor of Institutions in Mr. Lockwood's department, and President of the American Prison Association, spoke on "Washington State Correctional Institutions in Wartime." Dr. Coral W. Topping, sociologist, University of British Columbia and author of *Canadian Penal Institutions*, presented a paper on "Recent Trends in Canadian Penal Institutions." (This paper will be published soon in the *Prison World* edited by Mr. McGee.)

President G. Herbert Smith of Willamette University was the host of the Society for the afternoon meeting, which was held on the Willamette University Campus. Special attention was given to "The Sociology of War." Dr. Norman S. Hayner of the University of Washington, vice-president of the Pacific Sociological Society in charge of the Northern Division, acted as chairman. Dr. Elon H. Moore of the University of Oregon presented a paper on "The Social Functions of War," which was discussed by Dr. William C. Smith of Linfield College. The second paper, "Morale in the Shipbuilding Industry," was written by Dr. Joseph Cohen of the University of Washington. Cohen's paper was criticized by Dr. Glenn A. Bakkum of Oregon State College. Both of these papers will be published in the 1942 *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*.

The program ended with an evening dinner at which the sociologists had an informal discussion with Lockwood and McGee.

Appreciation is expressed by the Society to Dr. S. B. Laughlin of Willamette University for his excellent work as chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

The Office of War Information, Educational Services Division, is prepared to give a variety of services to adult discussion groups and to college and university student war organizations. The Division provides discussion pamphlets and guides, coordinates materials published by other government agencies for use in public discussion, and offers counselling service by correspondence in the

planning of discussion programs. It also maintains a working relationship with the Organizations Service Division of the Office of Civilian Defense, which provides field service and guidance in the planning of war information and discussion programs at the community level. Defense councils throughout the country are forming war information committees for the purpose of increasing public understanding. The Division calls attention to the availability, among others, of the following government publications:

National Resources Development Report for 1943, Part I, Post-War Plans and Program. National Resources Planning Board, pp. 80. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. Price 25 cents. This publication brings together some of the plans for the transition period immediately following the war and for the longer range period of post-war development and economic expansion.

O.P.A. Bulletin for Schools and Colleges, No. 2, March 1943, pp. 16. Copies can be secured by writing to the nearest Regional O.P.A. Office, or to the Chief, Educational Services Branch, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D.C. Contains news articles on the price control, rationing and rent control program; study outlines and questions for class discussion.

After the War—Toward Security: Freedom from Want, pp. 61. National Resources Planning Board. For sale by the Supt. of Documents, Washington, D.C. Price 10 cents. Reproduced from the larger Security Report which President Roosevelt submitted to Congress. It covers the introduction, the recommendations on general policy, and a summary of specific proposals.

Handbook on Education and the War, pp. 344. For sale by the Supt. of Documents, Washington, D.C. Price 55 cents. As a move to help mobilize education to the fullest extent, the U. S. Office of Education Wartime Commission, in August 1942, called the National Institute on Education and the War. Results of the proceedings are set forth in this handbook.

The American Institute of Family Relations at Los Angeles is offering a summer workshop in family life education at *Mills College*, Oakland, Calif., from June 28 to July 16. The staff will include Mrs. Frances Bruce Strain, Paul Popenoe, and John H. Furbay. Three units of college credit are offered to those qualified.

Other speakers include Dr. Douglas Campbell, Noel Keys, Dr. U. V. Loper, Henry M. Grant, Dr. Portia B. Hume, Dr. Frederic M. Loomis, Dr. K. M. Bowman, Dr. Bertha S. Mason, Mrs. Ruth Fry.

The Association of American Colleges has established a *Commission on Wartime Placement of College Faculties*. It is the purpose of this Commission to assist faculty members whose services will not be required by their institutions to secure posts in which they may aid in the war effort.

For the purposes of administration, the country has been divided into thirteen regions, coterminous with the United States Civil Service districts. A college or university in each region has been selected as a regional center.

The Commission has prepared an occupational questionnaire for all those who desire to become registrants. Even though faculty members are not at present prepared to accept new employment, filing the occupational questionnaire will place their names on the active registers of both the New York office and the appropriate regional offices for action when the occasion arises.

The Commission will do everything possible to place faculty members, whatever their professional qualifications may be, in touch with occupational opportunities, and to assist college and university executives in making wartime replacements to their own staffs.

Professor John F. Sly of Princeton University is serving as Director of the Commission. Correspondence addressed to his office at 19 West 44th Street (Room 1418), New York City, will receive prompt attention.

The 1942 *Mills College* Summer Workshop on Education for Marriage and the Family has prepared one of the best bibliographies yet available on marriage and the family, under the direction of Ray E. Baber. A few copies are available at 50 cents.

The Council for Social Action has recently published an issue of the magazine *Social Action* entitled "Race Against Humanity." The major article is written by Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University.

"Information for Victory" will be the theme underlying the sessions of the 1943 Wartime Conference of the *Special Libraries Association* which will be held June 22-24 in New York at the Hotel Pennsylvania.

Members of the Association are information specialists in advertising agencies, banks, chemical firms, engineering companies, insurance companies, government agencies, museums, newspapers, religious institutions, etc.

On Wednesday there will be joint group meetings of the Advertising, Financial, Insurance and Social Science groups, at which Dr. Eveline Burns will speak on social security and other outstanding speakers will discuss the Keynes and White postwar banking and monetary plans.

University of Arizona. Dr. E. W. Burgess was a visitor in Tucson during the winter quarter. He was guest of honor at a dinner meeting of the University of Arizona Social Science Club February 25 and spoke on his studies predicting the success of marriage.

Dr. Frederick A. Conrad has continued his research in population trends and published (in the March issue of the *Elementary School Journal*) "Urban Population Trends and the Public School."

Dr. E. D. Tetreau, Professor of Rural Sociology, has an article in the March issue of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* entitled, "Population Characteristics and Trends in Arizona." This is an abbreviated version of the paper which was read at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dallas, Texas, December, 1941.

Colgate University. Professor Norman E. Himes resigned as Professor of Sociology, July 1, 1942. He is now stationed in the Office of the Surgeon General of the U. S. Army, Washington, as a Major. He will edit some of the volumes of the medical history of the war, more especially the volumes dealing with the administrative development and problems of the Medical Department of the U. S. Army.

University of Oklahoma. William Foote Whyte, assistant professor of sociology, has been appointed acting chairman of the Department of Anthropology.

Queens College. Dr. Paul W. Tappan of the department of anthropology and sociology has been awarded a post-doctoral fellowship for 1943-44 by the Social Science Research Council. The year will be spent in field training and advanced interdisciplinary research in sociological jurisprudence. Dr. Tappan has been granted a leave of absence for the year to pursue this work.

Wayne University. Dr. Norman F. Kinzie and Dr. Thomas M. Pryor have been appointed Special Instructors in Sociology at Wayne University. Dr. Kinzie, who received his Ph.D. in social administration at Ohio State University, is Director of Social Service for the Detroit Council of Churches. Dr. Pryor is pastor of the Royal Oak Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, Chairman of the Wayne Sociology Department, represented the Detroit branch at the third annual meeting of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace in New York, February 27. Dr. Lee is Chairman of the Wayne University Committee on Post-War Planning and is serving as moderator of a series of public meetings on the subject jointly sponsored by Wayne and the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs. Dr. Edward C. Jandy, Associate Professor of Sociology, has organized for Station WWJ of the Detroit *News* a series of weekly broadcasts on "Post-War Problems" each Saturday night at 7 to 7:30 P.M. Dr. Jandy serves as moderator each week and is assisted by selected panels of experts.

University of Wisconsin. At the beginning of the second semester of the school year the Sociology Department lost several staff members for the duration. Professor William White Howells, assistant professor of Anthropology in the Sociology and Anthropology Department is now a Lieutenant in the Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington, D.C. Professor Leland C. DeVinney is Captain in the Re-

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search Branch, Special Services Division, Services of Supply, Washington, D.C. Professor George Hill who taught rural Sociology for several years is now chief of the Farm Labor Section of the Farm Security Administration, Washington. Professor H. Scudder Mekeel is doing research for the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago. Professor Reuben L. Hill who was assistant director of the Wisconsin Student Union, lecturer in Sociology, and joint author with Howard Becker of *Marriage and the Family* is now head of the Department of Sociology at the University of South Dakota.

J. Sidney Slotkin, formerly instructor in Washington University and the University of Chicago, is temporarily teaching some of the courses of Professors Howells and Mekeel. Dr. Arthur E. Fink, now with the Social Protection Division of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, is to offer two courses during the summer session in the field of social welfare in war time. Professor Eduard Lindemann of the New York School of Social Work and Columbia University is also to be offering summer school courses on the campus of the University of Wisconsin.

The Sociology Department and the Wisconsin Student Union are offering a new course entitled Group Leadership in War Agencies to a carefully selected group of students. Field work is done at the Wisconsin Student Union, at the local U.S.O. and at Camp Truax.

Professor Howard Becker, at the request of the editors of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, has recently written an article for the 1943 *Yearbook* on "Sociology in 1942." He also wrote the article on "Sociology in 1941" for the same publication. The Gillin, Dittmer, Colbert book on Social Problems first published in New York, by D. Appleton-Century Company has been revised. New chapters by Norman Kastler have been added.

Education for European Reconstruction. We receive continually announcements of educational programs for post-war reconstruction. This is coming to be a major emphasis in many colleges and universities. Without attempting any systematic or complete statement, we pass on to our readers some items of interest.

Bryn Mawr College has taken considerable leadership in this work. Its faculty has adopted three "interdepartmental majors": (1) international administration and reconstruction, (2) community organization and reconstruction, (3) language for reconstruction. These run through the whole four years of the college curriculum. An important feature of these programs is a seminar on the concrete problems of European reconstruction led by Hertha Kraus, whose long experience in European social work and with the American Friends Service Committee is here used to great advantage. Of all the educational devices which have come to our attention, none has impressed us so much as Dr. Kraus' case study of an American relief worker's proce-

dures in Europe in 1919. The specific steps taken by this worker, including his mistakes, are presented in detail, and serve as a basis for discussing and learning a wide range of principles and techniques. From June 13 to 26 Dr. Kraus is conducting a Summer Institute in International Relief Administration.

Haverford College has opened a "reconstruction and relief unit" which includes a year's "pre-specialization" curriculum and a "specialization" course which may be covered intensively in one year of residence plus three months of a field project. The pre-specialization year includes liberal courses and some kind of physical work which may be physical education, mechanics, or other craft skills. The specialization program includes special area study and social work.

Swarthmore, Yale, Columbia, Barnard, Virginia, New York University, and Vassar are only a few of the other institutions in which some kind of work toward this end is going on.

On April 7 and 8, at New York University, was held a Conference on Educational Reconstruction in Central and Eastern Europe. Here efforts were made to plan something for the field of education analogous to the plans of ex-governor Lehman's Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Services for relief, nutrition, and social welfare. A "Democratic Charter of Education," prepared by a committee headed by Alice Kelihier was discussed and revised. A plan for an International Education Office, somewhat similar to the International Labor Office, was presented by Alonzo Myers of N.Y.U. The Institute was arranged by the Central and Eastern European Planning Board (Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, and Yugoslavia) and the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction, and New York University. It was scurrilously "panned" with grotesque misrepresentation by the *Daily News*, as a plan of the New Deal government (Commissioner Studebaker gave it a day's time and a speech) to control the post-war internal affairs of Axis countries (the subject of the Institute was the occupied countries and not the Axis), thereby keeping American soldiers belatedly abroad. On April 13, President MacCracken of Vassar described the conference at length in a radio broadcast to Europe on American college education. A student delegate, answering the charge that many young people studying for "reconstruction" work in Europe will be disappointed in not getting any such jobs, and disillusioned as to accomplishment if they do get them, said dramatically: we don't count on jobs, we want to understand Europe, and help America to understand it. [Ed.]

OBITUARY NOTICES

PHILIP ARCHIBALD PARSONS

Philip Archibald Parsons, head of the sociology department at Syracuse University from

1909 to 1920, and since then professor of sociology at the University of Oregon and Dean of the Portland School of Social Work, died suddenly of a heart attack on March 13, at the age of 64. He had not been in good health but his death was entirely unexpected.

Professor Parsons graduated from Christian College, Missouri, in 1904 and took his graduate work at Union Theological Seminary, the New York School of Philanthropy and Columbia University, receiving his doctor's degree from the latter in 1909, with a dissertation on *Responsibility for Crime*. He went immediately to Syracuse University, where he remained for 12 years, building up the department of sociology there and founding the University Settlement in 1912.

Going to the University of Oregon in 1920, to succeed Dr. Franklin Thomas, Dr. Parsons took an active part in social work and public affairs of the state and quickly became one of the leading figures of the Pacific Northwest in applying sociological principles to relief work, social reconstruction, and social planning. He was President of the Portland Council of Social Agencies, the Oregon Social Workers' Association, and the Americanization Council; Chairman of the Oregon Child Welfare Council and the Oregon Planning Council; Secretary of the Oregon Crime Commission; and a member of the North West Regional Planning Commission. He had remarkable facility in sizing up public problems and directing agencies to cope with them.

Professor Parsons kept up his interest in criminology, publishing a useful manual on *Crime and the Criminal* in 1926. His grasp on the causes of social pathology and disorder was manifested by his *Introduction to Modern Social Problems*, published in 1924. His preoccupation with practical social problems from 1926 to 1939 prevented further publication of books until he gave up enough administration in 1940 to resume writing. He left at his death completed manuscripts on *The Nature and Prospects of Civilization*, and *The Rock of Ages*, the latter a sociological study of the origins and social applications of religion. It is to be hoped that these will be published shortly.

An indefatigable hunter, fisherman and lover of outdoor life, and a genial personality, "Phil" Parsons will be missed as much by a host of personal friends as by his professional colleagues.

HARRY E. BARNES

Cooperstown, N.Y.

LILLIEN J. MARTIN

"Happiness and efficiency are the inalienable rights of all human beings." Such was the motto of Dr. Lillian J. Martin, internationally known psychologist, who, at the age of 92, died March 26, 1943, in San Francisco. Born July 7, 1851, in Olean, N.Y., her life illustrated her motto.

Dr. Martin was credited with founding three new professions after her retirement at 65 as Professor Emeritus at Stanford University. She was a pioneer, first as consulting psychologist, second as founder of the first child guidance unit in the United States, third as the first and only practicing gerontologist in the country.

She came from a line of teachers and business people and graduated from Vassar College in 1880. Succeeding Dr. David Starr Jordan as science teacher in the Indianapolis High School she pioneered in the teaching of chemistry at the secondary school level. Invited to speak on her experiment at the National Educational Association convention in San Francisco, she adopted this city as her home, and became vice principal and science teacher at the Girls' High School.

Dr. Martin believed in several breaks in the average life to keep a person mentally supple. After a few years she burned her bridges behind her and went to German universities to study psychology. Returning, she was invited by President Jordan to join the Stanford University faculty where she became Professor of Psychology. Later Bonn University by cable made her an honorary Ph.D. for ten original contributions to the young science of psychology.

She retired at 65, but perhaps achieved even more in the 27 years after retirement. In fact, Dr. Martin did not believe in retiring, but in continuing growth. She believed that each of us for the glorious privilege of living owes the world constant contribution "till the last ray gleams."

In 1920 she established the first mental hygiene clinic for pre-school children at Mt. Zion Hospital, San Francisco. From 1921 onward she experimented and then opened an office for old age counselling and rehabilitation. She wrote over twenty-five articles and books on applied mental hygiene for human life at all age levels. Her more popular books included *Salvaging Old Age*, 1930, *Sweeping the Cobwebs*, 1933, and *The Home in a Democracy*, 1938. At the time of her death she was writing a manual for old age counsellors. Her work in this direction will be continued by her long-time associate, Mrs.

Clare DeGruchy, in San Francisco; at the American Institute of Family Relations in Los Angeles (Dr. Paul Popenoe, Director) by the writer of this obituary; and by Dr. George Lawton, consulting psychologist, 41 West 82d St., New York City.*

Dr. Martin believed also in play. She was her own first old age rehabilitation client, determined to keep on growing. At 65 she learned to use a typewriter. At 75 she traveled around the world. At 79 she went alone to Russia. At 77 she learned to drive an automobile. At 81 she made a seven-week tour of Mexico, with only a mechanic and a pistol to protect her. At 88 she made a journey up the Amazon during her tour around South America. In 1927 she published *Around the World with a Psychologist*.

Her "pattern of life" was that of the genius. From early years she did things on her own account, she learned by failures, she was always experimenting, ever desiring to excel; what she was afraid to do, she dared to try; she wished to leave the world a little better than she found it. She was a true pioneer, a trail-blazer.

A student and fellow worker once wrote to her:

Columbus of the hidden, waiting lands

Of the growth planet that we call our life,
You show us how the dull, relentless strife
Of yesterday can clutch with stifling hands
Today—and cancel livingness. To you
Each is an individual unique;
His secret springs, his pattern, how you seek!
Always with calm, clear mind you hear him
through
To understand. And then, with humble skill,
Kind surgeon of the soul, you clear away
Octopus tentacles of yesterday,
Searching for seeds of newness with a will.
The beauty and the goodness of the truth
You love. You cry, "Come live—in timeless
youth!"

CHRISTOPHER RUESS

American Institute of Family Relations
Los Angeles

* Dr. Martin's work has long been recognized and valued at Vassar College, where several studies in old age welfare and adult education have been carried on as a result of her inspiration. Through Dr. Iva L. Peters, Dr. George Lawton, the Welfare Council of New York City, and other media, Dr. Martin's philosophy and methods in the rehabilitation and counselling of the aged have been communicated to several workers in the East. [Ed.]

BOOK REVIEWS



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University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

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The Moral Ideals of Our Civilization. By RADOSLAV A. TSANOFF. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1942. Pp. xix + 636. \$5.00.

Tsanoff has done a remarkable service in boiling down into usable form twenty centuries of ethical teaching. His title is justified by the fact that these ideas, tracing back to classic antiquity and the beginnings of Christianity, are still implicit in our Western culture. It is almost overwhelming in its scope, but has nothing in common with the ordinary crabbed textbook so characteristic of courses in the history of philosophy or histories of ethics, politics, etc. While it parallels the history of social thought, the history of education or the history of philosophy, it has a place of its own by virtue, not only of its specialized content, but of the author's skill in presenting his material in readable form. Not a little of its appeal is due to the challenging way in which he has phrased the topics, for example: Plato's Aristocracy of Rational Harmony; The Renaissance: Rampant Self-Assertion—the Matrix of New Ideals; Scepticism Serene and Tragic: Montaigne and Pascal; Hobbes: The Mechanics of Human Character; Leibniz's Monadology: The Symphony of Nature; A Voluptuary's Sagacity: Saint-Évremond.

The whole volume is valuable to the sociologist, for in the author's own words it aims at "the moral self-understanding of our civilization: the roots and the ramifications of our various Western traditions, the significance of our guiding principles, the ethical problems in which our complex and changing social system has involved us, the manifold demands for reform, and the search for abiding values in our life. . . . This is a history of philosophy which emphasizes problems of conduct, moral and social values and alternatives." But beyond that there are specific chapters and sections of more intensive importance to the sociologist, such, for example, as Hume's Radical Empiricism—The Genesis of Social-Mindedness; Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments; Egoistic Hedonism and Social Order; Herder's Philosophy of History; The Growth of British Liberalism; Radicalism and Revolution; French Positivism in Morals (Comte and Proudhon); Bentham's Quantita-

tive Hedonism; Ethics and the Theory of Evolution; The Ethics of Socialism; Sociological Methods in Morals; The Problems of Objective Moral Standards. In these sections one finds an excellent analysis of Spencer's serene utopian ethics, followed by an analysis of the contributions of Henry Drummond, John Fiske, Huxley, Kropotkin, Guyau, Fouillé, Durkheim and other apostles of "sociological naturalism" including Levy-Bruhl and Bouglé; Marx and other scientific socialists; Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Westermarck, Hobhouse, William James, John Dewey, Spengler and Ortega y Gasset. Interestingly enough, the thought cycle of Ernest Renan is cited as an example of Comte's "Three Stages," if indeed it did not make him a successor to Comte's mantle or even his downright disciple.

In coming down to the immediate present the author faces a situation of unsettlement and divergent crossroads which offers a challenge to the sociologist:

"In the book of human thought each sentence might aim at the finality of a period, yet not the best of them get beyond a semicolon. . . . All periods of active thought are periods of transition. What characterizes our age is the far-reaching extent of the unsettlement and the expressed readiness for radical changes of direction. . . . The relaxing of formerly unquestioned principles and scruples in moral practice, and the ethical relativism of some social historians and anthropologists are analogous manifestations of the present temper. That this sort of procedure is as imperative for a scientific ethics as are the new radical methods in physical science, is the claim of the sociological school. Lone heirs of 'the Great Tradition' of absolutism might see in the present restless realignment only the evidence of sceptical confusion. But the contemporary mind is not the less zealous for finality because it has found the final principles of an earlier day no longer convincing. If our age is sceptical, its scepticism is not nonchalant, like Montaigne's; rather is it like Pascal's, sprung of a more exacting logic, but intolerable. . . . The Reign of Relativity characterizes the logical turn in contemporary thinking, but its moving spirit may with equal justice be described as a Quest for Certainty."

In short, Tsanoff has given the sociologist, as well as the specialist in the field of philosophy,

an excellent handbook by which to follow the thought currents of the last century. It ought to be equally valuable as something in the way of a guide in these days of feverish planning for a post-war world order. It is safe to say that unless our world planners take account of this rich affluent to the whole stream of Western history, they are likely to make a sad muddle of a projected world order whether unified, federated, parliamentarized, or just wagging along an uncharted way.

ARTHUR J. TODD

Northwestern University

In Defense of the West. By HERBERT VON BECKERATH. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1942. Pp. xi + 297. \$3.50.

Many observers of contemporary education have come to believe that the fissiparous tendencies in modern learning have brought us to the very brink of intellectual and moral chaos. They believe that the field of knowledge concerning our culture has been broken up into so many small strips that the very notion of a field is disappearing. They take the view that so much of our energies are being devoted to the elaboration of highly specialized and technical knowledge along the periphery of human experience that the basic, elemental, and rather simple truths and values upon which our Western civilization ultimately rests are taken for granted, or ignored, or even forgotten. This is Professor von Beckerath's point of view. "Our higher education," he writes, "has not only become too overloaded with mere scientific and professional training; it has also to an extent lost the integrating quality which comes from the immediate contact of the pupil with the truly great ethical, intellectual, and esthetic achievements of past and present."

Accordingly, the author seeks to examine the world we live in as a whole, and it is a highly complicated world not without lights and shadows. The human race is not neatly divisible into good and bad men, and its institutions cannot be glibly tucked away into permanent categories. Man is not merely an economic animal and his history is not reducible to some sort of materialistic determinism. Rights are not permanent attributes of abstract individuals living in an hypothecated natural order. Capitalism is not a fixed system incapable of adaptation or adjustment. Our industrial society cannot be described in the simple terms of two sharply defined classes of exploiters and exploited. The problems of mankind cannot be worked out by the

mere invocation of slogans and clichés. Thus, he is skeptical of pat explanations of our economic ills in terms of sweeping theories of underconsumption or oversaving, as well as of our political malaise in terms of an uncritical denunciation of nationalism.

Beckerath's thesis is that the basic qualities of the West, which are individualistic and personalistic in character, and therefore fundamentally spiritual and moral, have been perverted through the development of natural science, modern technology and industrialism, which man has not yet been able to adjust to his historic spiritual heritage. Technique and industry "have broken the mould in which man's faith, man's thought, man's moral and esthetic life for centuries had been harmoniously fitted." To be sure, this is not a novel thesis, but the author does focus upon it a great deal of erudition and a great many shrewd observations. While he examines this proposition in considerable detail from many points of view, he does not believe that there is any ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth. In one of his numerous quotable passages he warns against "dogmatic perfectionism," remarking that "life knows of no final solutions, it knows only of ways that lead upwards and others that lead downward."

Clearly the author rejects the totalitarian solution, whether Fascist or Communist, on economic as well as moral grounds. He is also sharply critical of the present mania for bureaucratic, over-all planning, and rejects even more sweepingly the idea of self-government in industry, as exemplified in the short-lived N.R.A. system. He holds to the view that man's best hope lies in the preservation and improvement of a capitalistic order, based on private property, contract and competition, and giving the widest possible scope to the play of human enterprise and initiative. Its validity rests upon the impersonal operation of the market and the price system. This does not posit an anarchical order, for the rules of the business game are determined and policed by the state, which in a liberal state means "public sovereignty."

Beckerath's canvass is such a vast one that he inevitably touches upon prickly points where one may legitimately take issue with him. Thus, in considering what can be done with a defeated Germany, he ventures to suggest that the question of a restoration of a German monarchy is "worthy of investigation." One may suppose that any broad-gauged question is in some sense worthy of some sort of investigation, and at the

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same time believe that the reestablishment of royalism in Germany would represent a rather bitter kind of victory for democracy and a highly dubious contribution to the development of a more humane civilization. To give another example, he defends the policy which the Italian Fascist government pursued of lowering wage rates on the theory that "the poverty of the Italian masses was undoubtedly largely due to the natural poverty of the country and to the adversity of international conditions." If the Italian masses are foredoomed to poverty because of natural causes (in itself a dubious and unhistorical proposition), then certainly the dictatorship is not entitled to any praise for keeping them poor. Indeed, if under any circumstances the Italian people are destined to be poor, they may as well enjoy the amenities of freedom. In another place, the author urges that factory and social legislation be kept within very definite limits, warning against "politically determined wage rates which give the workers more than the value of their productive contribution." One may legitimately ask the question as to how this value can be measured, and whether free and equal bargaining (which does not exist), or the higgling of the market, or trade union pressure, will necessarily yield more defensible results.

The general view of this book, that economics is essentially a moral science, is eminently sound. The reader may not agree with all the dicta which the author puts down, and above all he may not share his nostalgic faith in the lovely system of the classical economists; but he will be immensely stimulated to thought about many things, and he will be impressed with the author's patent sincerity and with his serious concern for the growth of a more humane culture.

DAVID FEELMAN

University of Wisconsin

And Keep Your Powder Dry: An Anthropologist Looks at America. By MARGARET MEAD. New York: William Morrow, 1942. Pp. x + 274. \$2.50.

This volume, consisting of fourteen essays, is "one part of the program of the Council on Intercultural Relations which is attempting to develop a series of systematic understandings of the great contemporary cultures so that the special values of each may be orchestrated in a world built new." In it an anthropologist assumes the role of commentator on particular problems America at war is having to face. There is probably no other anthropologist better fitted

by training and experience to contribute to such an accomplishment than Dr. Mead. Participant observation in six different primitive societies which has led to insights and interpretations on American institutions has laid a solid foundation for the analysis presented here.

The American national character is described as dynamic, forward-looking, optimistic, in harmony with both past and present. The American puts a high value on personal, material success. In spite of recent failures and cynicism the young people possess the older American traits. The military philosophy of the country is that the initiation of war is not permissible, that Americans must be attacked before they can be sure they are right. It is then the recognized responsibility of every individual to take the battle to the enemy, provided, only, that every individual is trusted to do his share in full knowledge of all the facts.

The latter part of the book deals with the implications of the national character for present and future policy. It is concluded that if America is to go on in the way it started, but has not moved during the depression years, it must avoid cynicism, return to its old ability to solve its problems with courage and optimism. Success must be redefined, still in terms of effort, and of some new works to do outside the country and beyond the war. Americans must see the war as a step forward. This idea is extended through comments on a future great period of history. Social organization is the next great adventure. A place for all cultures must be found in the one world of the future. Four specific suggestions are made: (1) have faith in our ability and the desirability of developing world order; (2) plan how the integration of world culture is to be brought about; (3) eliminate everything which will preclude a democratic world; (4) get started now.

This book is neither anthropology nor sociology; it is not science, either pure or applied. It is unfair to judge it by scientific standards, but it does make a contribution to the analysis of American national traits, and it has its roots in broad knowledge. Its purpose is both to interpret American character and to develop ideals and a determination in people to bring about some permanent achievement as a result of their effort in total war. Although everyone will not agree with the interpretation of national qualities, use of the dynamic and idealistic attributes credited to Americans will immeasurably increase the probability of the United Nations winning both the war and the peace. It is ex-

tremely doubtful if academic scholarship and criticism can help one-tenth as much.

MAPHEUS SMITH

University of Kansas

Behind the Japanese Mask. By JESSE F. STEINER. New York. The Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. 159. \$2.00.

The purpose of this book is to take the intelligent American reader behind the Japanese mask and show him the nature of the people with whom we are at war in the Pacific area. There is probably no one in the United States who is better qualified than Steiner to carry out this task. The book reflects a historical perspective and sociological understanding that has been absent from the writings of the journalists, and it reveals an intimate and detailed knowledge of the Japanese as human beings that has been missing in the writings of the library scholars. Moreover, it maintains a high level of objectivity and describes in clear, simple, and effective language the Japanese people as they are, rather than as "the enemy." As a consequence, this study of the Japanese has none of the fire and thunder of a propaganda piece and possesses all the qualities, save only bulk and citation of sources, of a scientific work.

According to Steiner, we Americans have completely misjudged the Japanese, not because the Japanese are incomprehensible, but because (a) we created the myth of Japanese incomprehensibility and (b) we were content with that myth. Pearl Harbor ended our contentment, but the myth persists and has even been strengthened. Actually, the Japanese are not a strange, curious, and devious people; and, once we know their basic traditions and their fundamental social patterns and the effect that Western contacts have had on these, the behavior of the Japanese becomes quite understandable. The pattern of their culture is clear, and they adhere to it. Comprehend that pattern, and you will be prepared to understand most of the behavior of most of the Japanese.

Because Steiner's purpose is to make comprehensible the Japanese as an enemy, he selects for consideration those aspects of Japanese social history and contemporary life that have made possible, indeed inevitable, the present war and that will have significance in the conduct of that war. From their long past the Japanese have inherited the unshakable conviction that they are God's chosen people. From adverse, almost contemptuous, treatment at the hands of Westerners, they have acquired a bitter

hatred of Westerners, particularly Americans and British. This hatred has been fanned by the ambitious and traditionally powerful military clique, which very early in the history of modern Japan laid down the nationalistic program that has now flowered into war. That program has guided the adoption of Western technology and has at the same time persistently and, by and large, effectively prevented the adoption of Western ideologies and social practices. As a result, Japan today is highly proficient in modern technologies but distinctly old-fashioned (i.e., feudal) in most other respects. The military values of feudalism have been retained or revived; the population is docile and obedient; the masses are accustomed to living in poverty in order that their lords—or the war lords—may live well.

This combination of modern technology and ancient feudalism will be hard to beat. There are many contradictions, many stresses and strains, in Japanese society. But the Japanese will desist from their endeavor to become masters of all Asia "... only when their resources are outmatched by the overwhelming numbers and power of their enemies."

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism. By D. C. HOLTOM. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943. Pp. ix + 178. \$2.00.

In 1922 Holtom published his definitive study *The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto*. In the present book he summarizes the material covered in that study, modestly refraining from citing himself, brings it up to date, and interprets the whole in terms of the Japanese attempt to conquer the Oriental world. The book will be of interest to all who would understand the historical forces which culminated in the attack on Pearl Harbor and of especial interest to the social psychologist. Economic and political factors played their part in the making of modern Japan, but the dominating force was ideological. State Shinto, superimposed though it was upon the more indigenous and upon the imported religious systems, has been far more a determinant of Japanese life than a reflection thereof. Its elements were drawn from the old culture, but as a nationalistic religious system it in turn served and is still serving as a force which effectively subordinates the individual to the state, fosters strong nationalistic ambitions, and sets a single, and nationalistic, goal for the entire people. The Japanese are not a people embroiled

in war. They are religious fanatics engaged in a crusade. Holtom shows how that fanaticism was generated—how a number of traditional ideas were made into one great national *idée fixe*, State Shinto. He does not attempt to show how Shinto ideology was carried over into social action, mostly military. But what the Japanese have been doing these past months is evidently in fulfillment of the dictates of this ideological system.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

The Nazi State. By WILLIAM EBENSTEIN. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1943. Pp. xi + 355. Text edition, \$2.00; trade edition, \$2.75.

From close acquaintance with German legislation and book literature, with current newspaper editorials and interesting pieces of psychological and sociological research yet unnoticed by American experts, the author gives a singularly translucent account of the institutional framework of National Socialism. He is mainly interested in the legal instrumentalities of Nazi conquest and domination. The legal aspect, however, does not remain an end in itself. It serves a functional analysis of the National Socialist movement and its inherent tendencies toward a "permanent revolution" internally and toward "permanent war" in the field of foreign policies.

The structure of the Nazi state culminates in the three powerful organizations of Party, Army, and Bureaucracy. They are molded into a functional unit by the leadership principle. The Führer himself—as head of the party organization, as superior commander of the Army, and as Chancellor of the Reich—co-ordinates ideological, military, and administrative operations. His decisions are arbitrary; his promises are noncommittal, and the field aim of his endeavors is conspicuous only in the sequence of his claims to "equality of rights" (1933-36), "unification of all German-speaking people" (1936-38), "living space" (1938-40), and finally "world domination" (1940 to date).

The delegation of responsibilities to ministries, government offices, and key positions in the military forces follows the bureaucratic principle of establishing a hierarchy of competencies down to the local agencies of a highly centralized organization. To increase the economic as well as the military striking power of the Reich, a cross section of responsibilities has been delegated to prominent Nazi leaders such as Göring, as the Delegate in charge of the "Vierjahres Plan." Cabinet meetings are replaced by direct negotia-

tions between Hitler and his department heads.

Geared to total war, the economic structure of Germany has experienced a growing tendency toward industrial concentration. Small enterprises have been reduced to a minimum. For the sake of administrative expediency the margin of the "middle-classes" has been narrowed down continuously, leaving a large class of wage earners opposed to a group of expert industrialists and businessmen, the latter functioning as executives of the leader and entirely at the mercy of the party organization.

In dealing with various sections of Nazi state and society such as government, party, education, religion, or the position of labor, the author introduces the subject by pertinent remarks on the history of the problem. One criticism may be ventured: the origin of National Socialism is demonstrated as a consequence of the social and economic and administrative history of Germany in the nineteenth century. The particular conflict situations of the 1920's seem underestimated. Hitler was perhaps not quite as inevitable as the author assumes. Also, the author has not attempted to apply his considerable information to the analysis of present dynamics in the relationships between the "three powers": army, bureaucracy, and party. Is it too early to look for indications of internal tension and conflict?

SVEND RIEMER

Cornell University

Germanizing Prussian Poland. By RICHARD WONSER TIMS. New York: Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law of Columbia University, Number 487. Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 312. \$4.25.

This is a narrowly historical account of the activities of the Eastern Marches Association (or the HKT Society as it was popularly known after the initials of its three leading protagonists), which was organized for the purpose of sponsoring and carrying on agitation in favor of policies and programs designed to secure the more or less forcible Germanizing of Posen (Poznan) and other of the Polish provinces of Prussia.

The policies sponsored and encouraged by this society were those of suppressing the teaching of the Polish language in the schools and its use in public gatherings, the settling of colonies or villages of German peasants in areas predominantly Polish, the encouragement of economic and political solidarity among the German peasants, merchants, and professional per-

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sons in these areas, the restriction of the migration of Polish farm workers from Russia and Austria, and, finally, outright expropriation of Polish landowners—a measure, however, which was never actively carried through.

These policies, prosecuted with varying vigor for the two or three decades immediately preceding the outbreak of the war in 1914 not only failed of their purpose, but undoubtedly contributed to the German debacle of 1918 by permanently antagonizing the Polish minority and stimulating the development of its national solidarity.

For the sociologist, the work will be disappointing as a study of assimilation, inasmuch as the Polish reaction to the German policies is dealt with only indirectly and incidentally. Though the work possesses all of the earmarks of sound historical scholarship, it is based admittedly only on German sources, and the emphasis throughout is on narration rather than on processual analysis. For this reason it is impossible to determine from this study whether the Polish provinces remained impervious to Germanization because of the inherent impotence of force and coercion in producing assimilation (as the proponents of non-violence contend) or whether the cause of the failure lay in the lack of vigor and ruthlessness in the prosecution of the policies (as Hitler contended in *Mein Kampf*). The study does, however, supply additional evidence that many of the racial, geographical, and political concepts and attitudes that constitute the core of Nazi ideology were current in at least a sizeable minority of the leaders of the German people for a quarter or a half century before the outbreak of the war in 1914. Though the membership roll of the HKT Society never ran much over 50,000, it included most of the prominent and powerful names in Germany—not those merely of politicians, office-holders, and Junkers, but also of such eminent scholars as Treitschke, Gustav Schmoller, Karl Lamprecht, Ernst Haeckel, and, for a time, Max Weber.

JERRY A. NEPRASH

Franklin & Marshall College

Victory Is Not Enough. By EGON RANSHOFEN-WERTHEIMER. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1942. Pp. 322. \$3.00.

As a subtitle to this volume the promise of a "strategy for a lasting peace" matches the brilliant main title. The text *almost* matches the title and the subtitle together, which is saying a good deal. Everybody who is interested in

the problems of post-war reconstruction, at least on the international side, should read this book.

He should, however, read it with all his faculties awake. Otherwise he will neither appreciate the wealth of suggestion contained in its pages nor appraise critically the various points made by the author, not all of which are self-evident, or consistent, or clear in their implications.

The volume deals with the failure of Weimar Germany, of Republican France, of the League of Nations, with American and United Nations promises and responsibilities, with Germany—Germany—Germany—and with how to make the peace.

As suggested above, everybody with any interest in post-war problems (and adequate intelligence) should read this book—with his fingers crossed. From start to finish he will find an analysis embodying many absolutely solid and penetrating points especially in the analysis of German psychology. He will also find some very weak treatment in the discussion of problems of political organization and procedure. Everywhere he will find most stimulating and provocative writing.

Beyond this, at the risk of seeming pedantic and of grievously offending his friend, the reviewer is absolutely driven to complain about the general character of this book. It is the second volume which he has reviewed within ten days where a writer of sensitivity, of imagination, and of good will, essays to deal with a terrific mass and range of historical, legal, and political problems with nothing more to guide him and nothing much more to offer his readers than his own subjective personal reactions. It is not enough. The author ejaculates at the end that he has spoken out and thereby has saved his own soul; this is also the second time the reviewer has heard that explanation for a pseudo-scientific effort to solve the problem of world polity in the past few days. It also is not enough. These problems are the most crucial problems of our times; personal impressions are not enough to solve them and a feeling of necessity to contribute one's own feelings about them is not a sufficient substitute for thorough scientific treatment.

It seems to the reviewer that the central characteristic of the author as an analyst of international affairs is his combination of subjective impressionism on the analytical side with a strange mixture of inspiration and logic on the constructive side. The results in the

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analysis are often brilliant though not invariably historically accurate or reliable; on the side of reconstruction they are often unrealistic and artificial. This highly personal, intuitional (Heil!), ultra-intellectualist treatment of political problems justifies careful examination.

PITMAN B. POTTER

Oberlin College

Technology and Economics of Total War. By LYMAN CHALKLEY. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. 24. \$0.25.

Chalkley shows the necessity for solving many problems which yield no profit directly but are indirectly very profitable, e.g., education, public health, soil restoration, and mineral and soil conservation. Much war production falls in this class.

"The United States is not fighting this war for profit, and hence its government cannot afford to limit its thinking and planning to that of a profit economy" (p. 24). Does Chalkley really believe that our dollar-a-year men, politicians, and administrators have made their war decisions without reference to the effect on the profit economy? It is certainly true that we "cannot afford" to limit our thinking—and acting—thus, but we have done so nonetheless. Most of our political and business leaders think we can win the war without sacrificing private profit; further, they think we cannot win it *without* "profit motivation" and that this principle is one of the main things we are fighting for. Chalkley clearly sees that we cannot get maximum socially beneficial results, either in peace or war, from our technology by relying upon the profit motive alone, and that actually we get many harmful results. As a matter of fact, nonprofit motives have always been powerful factors in producing both the technology and the beneficial results that have come from it. Veblen said this in fifty-seven different ways a generation ago. Until we see—and this "we" includes our leaders—that there is a fundamental contradiction between technology for social welfare and technology for private profit, we shall never fully achieve any of the "freedoms" we are fighting for. The private profit motive, mediated by modern technology, is as dangerous to social stability, public welfare, and democratic life as totalitarian aggression, racism, imperialism, statism, militarism, and all the other evils we symbolize by "Hitlerism" and "Fascism."

READ BAIN

Miami University

Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries.

By SYLVESTER JOHN HEMLEBEN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943. Pp. xiv + 227. \$2.50.

This little book seeks to describe the principal plans for world peace which were proposed in the Western World from the beginning of the Fourteenth Century to the end of the First World War. Its method consists in a brief factual statement of the main ideas embodied in each plan, together with a few quotations about it from critical writers. The book is very heavily anchored in a plethora of footnotes and includes a bibliography of 29 pages. The author is preoccupied with the purely political and organizational aspects of the peace plans he deals with. A final chapter of "Reflections" reaches the conclusion that for the attainment of permanent peace "men must turn to God for guidance and strength."

DAVID FELLMAN

University of Wisconsin

Fantastic Interim. American Manners, Morals, and Mistakes between Versailles and Pearl Harbor. By HENRY MORTON ROBINSON. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943. Pp. vii + 341. \$3.50.

For persons who relish selected sociological data served sizzling hot off the fire of passionate criticism, this is the offering of the year to enjoy and remember. Henry Morton Robinson writes poetry and in this volume exalts poets as "seismic recorders of spiritual temblors." That feeling for poets he embodies throughout these pages of his prose in which he records seismic events and his own spiritual tremor. Here is a "mural," he tells us—a mural of American quietude respecting the plight of the world during the two decades running between the participation of the United States in two world wars. To his mural he gives the name, "fantastic interim," the adjective fantastic signifying his belief that American "isolation" from a great crusade to put the world in better shape was more extraordinary than the urge to engage in that crusade.

This painter with words is a devoted disciple of Woodrow Wilson and loyal to Wilson's formula for the perfect good in international relations. He depicts the failure of the Americans to follow the "demigod of Versailles" from "the rim of international affairs to a position at the center of the world maelstrom" as a weakness amounting to the "grossest" of diseases. In highly metaphorical and rhetorical colors,

splashed with purple patches of heavy wise-cracks, he makes his picture of a "thousand stupefying nothings" in American life, at that time, as gross as the disease which he has diagnosed. He traces the impotence to the profit motive, neurotic pacifism, and timidity incapable of grasping the wide-open opportunities to establish democracy over the globe by a violent procedure. The energy of American mental and moral force was dissipated and consumed. An apparently incurable sleeping sickness fell like a pall over the American people.

Then, according to the contention, the people recovered their health, rose from the "great American dream-bed," escaped from escape, turned to the unfinished martial adventure, and behind a new sagacious leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt, with their brains and hearts properly functioning again, re-entered the interrupted crusade.

How can this renewed warring end in peace and democracy for the world? In informing us, Mr. Robinson resorts to simple, unfigurative language. The seismic recorder of spiritual temblors knows and declares that it can so end by the stabilization of economic relationship between nations. And that means, he says, "among other things, an equitable division of raw materials, a liquid flow of international trade, and free access to world markets."

MARY R. BEARD

New Milford, Connecticut

Inter-American Affairs—1941. By ARTHUR P. WHITAKER and others. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xi + 240. \$3.00.

Made possible through a grant from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, this volume is the first number of what is intended to be an annual survey of the principal developments in inter-American affairs. Published in response to the increasing interest in the problems of inter-American co-operation, and with the purpose of providing the kind of information needed for the formation of intelligent opinions, the book merits a warm reception.

As explained by the editor, the series initiated by this volume "is intended to cover important developments of the year not only in the more familiar fields of politics and diplomacy and economics and finance, but also in cultural relations, social welfare, public health, and labor, about which the general public receives relatively scanty and fragmentary information."

In the judgment of the reviewer this purpose

is admirably fulfilled. Since this volume opens the series, Chapter I is devoted to a survey of "A Half-Century of Inter-American Relations, 1889-1940," and deals with the main developments since the first Pan-American conference. Subsequent chapters treat of "Politics and Diplomacy in 1941," "Economics and Finance in 1941," "Cultural Relations in 1941," "Public Health, Social Welfare, and Labor," and the book closes with a chapter entitled "Summary and Prospect." Of the six chapters, three are the work of the editor and one each was written by George Wythe of the United States Department of Commerce, William Rex Crawford of the University of Pennsylvania, and William L. Schurz of the Department of State.

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by an adequate index, three maps, and four very useful appendices dealing with "Inter-American Trade and World Trade," "United States Investments in Canada and Latin America," "Area, Population, Chief Executives, and Ministers of State for Foreign Affairs," and "Inter-American Chronology for 1941."

It is doubtful whether any other single volume in the field makes so much information so readily available. It is a pleasure to recommend it to professional students and laymen alike and to express the hope that it will be widely read since the continuation of the series depends largely on the reception accorded this initial publication.

REX D. HOPPER

University of Texas

The Age of Enterprise. By THOMAS C. COCHRAN and WILLIAM MILLER. New York: Macmillan, 1942. \$3.50.

"*The Age of Enterprise* is a new interpretation of the history of the United States," declare the authors in their Preface. Based primarily upon secondary material, used for illustrative purposes, the book aims to be "a social history of industrial America."

The book is divided into two parts. The first sketches the rise of business enterprise in the half century before the Civil War. The second, and by far the more extensive part, is a history of Big Business: its tentative beginnings; its philosophy; its rapid expansion; its flowering in the epoch of finance capitalism, and its metamorphosis in the years following 1929.

Until the middle of the 19th century, the authors contend that business enterprise was a subordinate factor in the direction of American life. "The Civil War began when a northern

party captured the federal government." The northern party (Republican) was founded by protesting western farmers, but "soon became the instrument of Big Business." After four years of civil war, the industrial North triumphed. "Southern planters, their wealth destroyed, and western farmers, their party captured, could do no more than complain about eastern exploitation. For all their numerical superiority they were never again able to defeat the forces of eastern business."

Emerging victorious from the Civil War, Big Business began the advance that was to carry it through six decades of expanding profiteering. The North American Continent provided the needed resources; floods of European and Asiatic migrants furnished an abundance of cheap labor, and Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer gave them a theoretical justification for their steadfast cupidity.

Spencerian philosophy "won America as no philosophy had ever won a nation." "To a generation singularly engrossed in the competitive pursuit of industrial wealth it gave cosmic sanction to free competition. In an age of science it scientifically justified ceaseless exploitation. Precisely attuned to the aspirations of American businessmen . . . their cupidity it defended as part of the universal struggle for existence; their wealth it hallowed as the sign of the fittest." "From the Civil War to the New Deal, businessmen explained themselves to the public" in Spencerian terms. "When Andrew Carnegie first read Spencer, he exclaimed: 'Light came as in a flood and all was clear.'" In less than 40 years 300,000 copies of Spencer's works were sold in the United States.

Triumphant industrial enterprise, theoretically grounded and financially successful, took over control of the United States and its affairs. Commerce, industry and banking were already a part of the business set-up and the income which they provided made it an easy matter for the business interests to own or dominate all of the important channels of public information and the agencies for the shaping of public opinion.

Free enterprise even in business-controlled America was not entirely free, however. It was subject to the laws of its own being and under these laws, in one generation, general competition was replaced more and more completely by tight monopoly. After 1929 the Federal Government took the economic title role by becoming the largest employer in the country, "the greatest user of the nation's savings, the

greatest underwriter of debt. . . . It assumed leadership in finance and construction. Above all, it supplanted private business as the chief planner of the nation's economic life." Thus was consummated "the century-long surrender in America of personal to institutional enterprise."

The authors have produced a thoughtful, well-written book. Certainly it will not appeal to the die-hard group in the National Association of Manufacturers, but general readers as well as students will find it refreshing, stimulating, and informing.

SCOTT NEARING

Jamaica, Vermont

The Pullman Strike: The Story of a Unique Experiment, By ALMONT LINDSEY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xi + 385. \$3.75.

This interpretative narrative of an epoch-making industrial dispute is in fact a record of an epoch—a typical incident in an era of normative lags. Lindsey's book is not only an authoritative, readable, balanced, and comprehensive account of a crucial episode; it is also a biography of an evolving industrial society. The reviewer has only praise for the author's portrayal of this partly forgotten national incident. It is a timely reminder of the changes that have taken place in public policy within a generation.

The author places the Pullman strike in perspective among the great trade disputes in American industrial history prior to 1894. Like every other great trial by battle, this episode tested the balance of forces inhering in the social position of the disputants. While the strike ran its swift course (spreading by sympathy to two-thirds of the nation) it left its aftermath of precedents, ideologies, and alignment of social forces. But it also brought clarification of policies, opinions and tactics. Among the significant topics discussed are: the probable precedents on which George Pullman based his paternalistic methods intended to be a profitable control of labor both indirectly (monopoly over residence properties, library, recreation, church building, etc.) and directly through a heedless parade of authority and imposition of anachronistic forms of social relations; the decade-long evolution of tensions eventuating in the violent eruption of 1894; a record of the growth of the "model" town and the employer-labor relations involving the personality and character of George Pullman; the viewpoints of the press in regard to Pullman policies and the strike;

repercussions of the struggle on the public and on the employer-employee relations (prosecution, blacklisting). Not least informative is the account of the fate of the paternalistic venture, its dissolution by court action, and its demise during the decade following the strike.

E. T. HILLER

University of Illinois

Liberty Concepts in Labor Relations. By BYRON R. ABERNETHY, with an Introduction by Roger Baldwin. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs. Pp. ix + 119. Cloth edition, \$2.50, paper edition \$2.00.

The fundamental thesis of the author is that liberty is freedom in the exercise of a power. When a particular liberty, however legitimate in itself, is, because of attending circumstances, open to some but not to others, that liberty becomes a privilege. Each party in industrial conflict seeks liberty to express those powers most necessary to secure its own existence or to advance its own position.

There is conflict not only between pressure groups of employers and workers, but also between particular types of liberties, the broader expansion of some necessarily contracting the limits of others. There is confusion and culture lag because of the shift in emphasis from the older and better established liberties of the group in power (management) to the newer and less well established liberties of the group (labor) emerging toward power. The function of the state is to maintain a balance of power between the stronger and weaker groups in society and to keep or to put the central social purpose of the welfare of the group as a whole before the special privilege of either side.

The socio-political balance sheet is set up as follows: Management stresses freedom of enterprise, freedom of contract, and freedom of property; labor strives toward freedom of association, freedom to bargain collectively, freedom to strike, and freedom of expression. Each of these liberties is analyzed in turn through clear and cogent discussion. The treatment is elementary but effective, simple but fundamental. The tone is fair and temperate. Positions are supported by pertinent statements from representative leaders of public opinion on both sides.

S. HOWARD PATTERSON

University of Pennsylvania

Migration to the Seattle Labor Market Area, 1940-1942. By CLARK KERR. Seattle: Univer-

sity of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, Volume 11, No. 3, 1942. Pp. 129-188.

Among the powerful effects of a major war few are of greater significance than the regional redistribution of the civilian population brought about by migration of workers and their dependents to industrial centers where the munitions of war are produced. The Seattle Labor Market Area including the metropolitan districts of Seattle, Tacoma, and Bremerton has been awarded prime contracts which have made it a major center for the aircraft and shipbuilding industries. Employment opportunities, high wages, and better jobs in these industries attracted an estimated hundred thousand migrants into the area between January 1940 and March 1942, adding an additional person for every 7 there at the outset. Workers and their dependents were equally divided among these migrants.

About 64 per cent of the migrants moved from communities within a radius of six hundred miles, including the States of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and parts of adjoining States. About 21 per cent moved from six hundred to fifteen hundred miles and 15 per cent moved fifteen hundred miles or more. The majority of the long-distance migrants moved from the West North Central States and from the Middle West. About half moved from rural communities and from towns of less than ten thousand population. More than two-fifths of the workers were young persons under 25 years old, and 36 per cent were unmarried. The majority had been employed in manufacturing, transportation and construction industries but about 10 per cent had been engaged in farming. They were about equally distributed among skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The proportion of female workers among them is not reported.

The impact of this huge migration on the reception area is indicated in the usual story of pressure on housing facilities and on transportation, health, education, and recreational services.

The report, which has been carefully prepared and very well written, closes with a brief statement of recommended policy regarding continuing recruitment, relief of pressure on community facilities, and post-war developments. An appendix cites the methodology of the present study and points up the prospective volume of future war migration to the area.

A. R. MANGUS

Ohio State University

The Standard of Living in 1860. By EDGAR W. MARTIN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. 451. \$4.50.

The purpose of this book is "... to make some contribution to an understanding of economic history by describing the level of living at one time and place—the United States on the eve of the Civil War" (p. 4). This aim is admirably accomplished. A wealth of historical information is summarized in the language of the layman. Covering a wide range of topics, the book begins with a description of production and consumption of foodstuffs; then follows an analysis of housing construction and operation with a chapter on hotels, rooming houses, etc.; clothing, personal care, medical care, public health, transportation, communication, education, religion, leisure and recreation are in turn discussed. Topics frequently overlooked in treatises on living standards, the contributions of government and philanthropic agencies, are here given their due consideration.

Sources of the historical data include the following: U. S. Census of 1860 (especially Eighth Census; Manufactures), special state and federal documents, trade magazines, diaries and memoirs, and various historical publications. Selection, documentation, and organization of material, all are sound. The importance implicitly assigned to certain statistical data, may, however, be misleading. For example, budgets of three families reported (pp. 396-397) are used as if they represented three levels of living.

Although the author supplies much valuable empirical material for students of economic history, his theoretical position appears uncertain at times. Most glaring is the author's inconsistency in using the term "standard of living" in his title and yet defining the term as "... an expression of what ought to be ... [as] distinguished from the actually existing level. In the chapters which follow I shall use the terms 'level of living' or 'level of consumption' interchangeably to mean the actual level and 'standard of living' only when I wish to emphasize the normative aspect" (p. 3, footnote 2). Content of the book indicates clearly that it is a study of level of living as the author defines the term. This criticism should not be construed as a mere quibbling about terms. The most significant shortcoming of the book is its failure to interpret the historical facts in a logically consistent framework of economic theory. Theory appears to be dismissed in statements such as: "We have to talk about eco-

omic 'progress,' and yet we cannot measure it" (p. 3). "It ought to throw light on the problem of relating material well-being to culture generally—to artistic creativeness and intellectual achievement and to human happiness" (p. 2). "... the only economic order we regard as adequate is one which produces enough goods for a high standard of living and at the same time leaves the workers with time for rest, recreation, and improvement" (p. 9). "The raising of the standard of living has come to be regarded as the great goal of national policy, but the premises underlying that belief have seldom been examined critically" (p. 10). "One is sometimes tempted to believe that at the same time their standard of living was rising and the amount of their leisure increasing the Americans were becoming a less happy people. If this is true, it does not mean that we should return to 'the good old days.' It does mean that it is fully important for us to learn how to use what we have as it is to get more" (p. 404).

Students and teachers will find this book a good reference for history and economics. Novelists writing about the Civil War period will find it invaluable.

HOWARD R. COTTAM

Pennsylvania State College

How Management Can Integrate Negroes in War Industries. By JOHN A. DAVIS. New York: New York State War Council, Committee on Discrimination in Employment, 1942. Pp. vii + 43.

The author has produced a much-needed program on how management can integrate Negroes in industries. He is clear and decisive in his presentation, and is facing the issues squarely. This pamphlet is not restricted to broad generalities. For one of the few times, a description of the sociological and psychological factors involved in hiring and using Negro employees in industries is presented, based on interviews with the personnel managers of thirty-two large companies situated in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. The investigation includes one hundred and seventy-five companies. Since the data collected refer primarily to the state of New York the author does not imply that his recommendations can be applied nationally, but some of the basic principles might be acceptable elsewhere. Salient among them are first, "the proposal to have a Negro expert in the employment agency for making a circumspect and judicious selection in choosing the first Negro employee" and second, "to work from white-collar posi-

tions down rather than from unskilled jobs up"—these examples may stand for numerous other suggestions.

The pamphlet's usefulness to the public is enhanced by a treatment of the areas of chief interest to managers and leaders of industries: Necessity for Firmness, Preparation for Introduction of Negro Workers, Gaining Employee Acceptance, Resistance of the White Worker, The Union in the Integrating Situation, and a carefully prepared bibliography. It should prove to be a source of enlightenment and understanding to those agencies whose task it is to enlist Negro workers during the present shortage of man-power. This investigation paves the way for a more realistic approach to the problem of integrating Negroes in industries by those who are actively concerned with it.

JONEL L. BROWN

University of Wisconsin

The Negro and the War. By EARL BROWN and GEORGE R. LEIGHTON. Public Affairs Pamphlet Number 71. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated. 1942. Pp. 32.

The Negro and the War is another in the series of brief discussions of the topics of major concern to students of current problems. World War II has brought into bold relief the problem of race conflict, with attention focussed sharply upon the question of Negro-White relations in our own country. Race equality has become a war issue, and the Japanese are playing it for all it is worth. The student of social problems recognizes the importance of this factor, and it is for him that the data of this brief study have been gathered.

The problem is a two-fold one. We are attempting, on the one hand, to secure the support of our Negro citizens in the war effort and, at the same time, to minimize the value of manifestations of race discrimination and conflict as a source of foreign propaganda.

The authors have brought to light evidences of discrimination in war industries, in army camps, and in the various branches of government, with its attendant deleterious effects on national morale. At the same time they note that fact that the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice is taking steps to correct the condition. They plead for more fairness in army and navy policy, for more employment opportunities in war industries to alleviate the man-power shortage, and for a determined effort on the part of ordinary citizens to elimi-

nate sources of conflict in their own communities.

MYLES W. RODEHAVER

University of Wisconsin

The Negro in Colonial New England: 1620-1776. By LORENZO JOHNSTON GREENE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 404. \$4.50.

This book is an important contribution to the social history of the Negro. In the twelve chapters which comprise the book, the author has presented an objective and well-documented study of every important phase of Negro life and its relation to the white community during the colonial period. In an opening chapter he shows the relation of the slave trade to the commercial life and wealth of New England. A chapter is devoted to an excellent analysis of the growth and distribution of the Negro population and another chapter to the occupational status of slaves. There are three chapters devoted to the machinery of control, crimes and punishment of slaves, and their legal status. A full chapter based upon materials from primary sources is devoted to the slave family. The chapter on the relations between master and slave shows slavery to have been milder in New England than in the South and the West Indies and that consequently there was greater regard for the personality of the Negro. Because of their relatively small numbers and close relation to their masters, Negroes were thus able to assimilate much of the white man's culture during this early period. The slaves enjoyed considerable opportunities for secular as well as religious instruction. The education of the slaves was influenced largely by the religious conversion of Negroes which is treated in a separate chapter. The chapter on the free Negro indicates that this class came into existence in the same manner as it did in other parts of the country. Although this group suffered discriminations as elsewhere, the theory of the "rights of man" as well as economic factors favored its growth to the extent that when the first census was taken nearly four-fifths of the Negroes in New England were free.

In the appendices there are statistics on the Negro population in the states and cities of New England and a comprehensive annotated and classified bibliography including primary and secondary sources. These features of the book not only provide valuable references for students, but are also an indication of the thorough-

going character of this excellent contribution to our knowledge of the history of the Negro in the United States.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

The American Jew: A Composite Portrait.

Edited by OSCAR I. JANOWSKY. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. xiv + 322. \$2.50.

It is inevitable that the present crisis in world civilization should lead the Jews above all peoples to examine themselves and their future with profound concern. Even in America, traditional land of refuge for Europe's harassed peoples, their position has excited increasing thought and apprehension: will the tides of European anti-semitism reverse the process of adjustment which has so far made America a symbol of hope? Will the American Jew become an integral part of the American people, or will he continue to be a somewhat marginal member of the national society?

It is evident that these are the governing questions back of the dozen essays which make up this symposium written by twelve Jews and one Catholic. The specific subjects discussed: historical backgrounds, the synagogue, Jewish education, literature, Hebrew, Jewish community structure, economic trends, anti-Semitism, philosophies of Jewish life, and Zionism, have been blended into a whole by editorial selection of writers who share a common outlook on the subject. These essays bring out clearly both the unities and disunities of American Judaism, and they offer an analysis of trends and causal factors which is both balanced and objective.

It is in the very nature of the Jewish problem that no definitive answer can be given to the question of the future of American Judaism. The contributors are generally agreed in accepting the philosophy of Cultural Pluralism as best designed to safeguard the Jewish spiritual-cultural heritage while permitting the development of a single political loyalty to America. This means that they reject both assimilation and segregation. Justice Brandeis is cited as having expressed a growing viewpoint of American Jews when he stated that "... it became clear to me that to be good Americans, we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews, we must become Zionists." This sentiment is in accordance with good American doctrine, as Professor Kallen shows, and perhaps it is the logical one for most Jews to have in this period of world history. At this point some sociologists will

emphasize that policies of toleration by the majority group inevitably lead to assimilation of many in the minority, whereas oppression (if not extreme) and segregation may actually promote the survival of the minority. In addition, we must take note of the observation made by Veblen that the Jews who have made the greatest contributions to Western culture are those who have lost their allegiance, in whole or in part, to the ancestral group.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

Skidmore College

Jewish Population Studies. Edited by SOPHIA

M. ROBISON. New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1943. Pp. xvi + 189.

The primary purpose of this volume is to describe various techniques which have been used to secure Jewish population data. A certain amount of demographic and social information concerning the Jewish population in 10 cities is presented as illustrative of the kind of material that has been obtained by use of the different methods.

The principal bases of estimates of the Jewish population are (1) the Census of Religious Bodies, (2) Yom Kippur absence, (3) death certificates, (4) sampling studies, and (5) complete or partial enumeration usually starting with a master list of members of Jewish organizations. The present volume presents information relevant to its primary purpose obtained by use of the latter three methods in 10 cities.

A test of the validity of any method of enumerating the Jewish population is impossible without some independent, accurate way of determining the number of Jews actually in the population. As yet this latter information is not available so that it is impossible to decide whether any of the five methods yields results which are accurate enough to warrant its use. Judging from the material presented in this book the fifth method has been the most satisfactory although it is also the most expensive.

The principal obstacle to ascertaining the number and characteristics of the Jewish population is the lack of objective criteria as to who is a Jew. In one study a Jew was a person whose death certificate showed that he was buried by an undertaker specializing in Jewish burials; in another study a Jew was one with a Jewish name but obviously there are differences of opinion as to whether or not a name is Jewish, and in a third study a Jew was a person with membership in a Jewish organization. Since

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Jewishness is a religious and cultural rather than a racial characteristic the question, "How many Jews are there?" is for practical purposes, unanswerable and for it must be substituted the question, "How many persons are willing to be classed as Jews?"

The individual studies are presented as separate, independent chapters and only a cursory attempt is made to summarize and discuss the demographic and social data collected. Indeed, it was not the purpose of the book to do more than present the various methods used to estimate the number and characteristics of the Jewish population. The execution of this limited objective should not require that the results be published in book form.

HAROLD F. DORN

United States Public Health Service

Rappahannock Herbs, Folk-lore and Science of Cures. By FRANK G. SPECK, et al. Media, Pa.: Proceedings of the Delaware Institute of Science, Vol. X, No. 1, 1942.

This work is a "report on the curative folk-lore and practical beliefs of the Rappahannock." It differs from the usual ethnobotanic monograph in its emphasis on acculturation between aborigines and immigrants.

On the one hand, "a total of thirteen Old World plants [out of 84 used] are included within the Rappahannock collection of curatives. Several possibilities are present: complete borrowing of plant and cure, or independent native adaptation of the new plant to the wider Rappahannock pharmacology, either directly or indirectly. Until a thorough investigation of Negro and White plant curatives is made, any conclusion is premature."

On the other hand, the neighboring non-Indians have been influenced by Indian ethnobotany. "Some of the women and even the Indian men are approached for advice by whites as well as colored farmer friends on simple remedies for sick mules, horses and dogs. There is thought to be some mystic potency in what the Indians have handed down from the great days when they were masters of the country and such 'lusty hale warriors'."

J. S. SLOTKIN

University of Wisconsin

The Effects of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture with Special Reference to the Fur Trade. By OSCAR LEWIS. New York: Monographs of the American Ethnological Society. 1942. Pp. 73.

This sixty-nine page dissertation opens with a cursory review of the anthropology and history of the Blackfoot tribe from its first appearance in printed reference (1690), through the period of early exploration to 1730, into the next epoch in the economic development (1730-1860), when the fur trade became the medium of contact between the Blackfoot and western civilization. That the Blackfoot were "ancient occupants of the northern plains" (Kroeber, 1940), is the acceptable conclusion of the author as regards the linguistic position of the tribe; the most westerly branch of the Algonkian stock. Cultural affinities are summarized as indicating that they were "influenced from both the east and the west from the earliest historic times" (p. 10), "for over a hundred years in the historic period" (p. 14). Maps (3) indicate the known earlier locations before 1730 and circa 1750, and the fur trading posts between 1787 and 1821. Eight pages suffice to cover the author's findings derived from historic sources (Blue, Kelsey, Burpee, Hendry (corrected to Henday) Morton, Cocking, Thompson, Larocque, M'Gillivray) and recent ethnographical essayists (Wissler, Hyde, Schultz, Voegelin, Hale, Michelson, Kroeber, Mandelbaum, Mishkin, Grinnell, Curtis).

In his Introduction (Anthropology and History) the author indulges in discussion in the manner of a seminarist, to which objection may be raised by some. Academically, if not perhaps departmentally conceived, the section comprising six pages of examination of the concept of history and its function in anthropology, would seem an unnecessary apology for the undertaking indicated by the title of the monograph. Not everyone would agree to his statement that "the neglect of available written history for its problems is a characteristic of present-day anthropology." He allows for some exceptions. The discussion is stimulating. To expatiate, however, upon points raised would lead to discussion of method in historical science and anthropology beyond the scope of a review.

The primary contribution of the monograph lies in the historical outline and analysis of the influences of the Canadian fur trade upon the Blackfoot. In concise language, with ample supporting testimony, the effects of the whole trading movement are traced with scholarly discretion and the common sense of a trained student of acculturation. The first contacts with whites, the result of expansion of the fur trade coming from the east, brought them guns, a little ammunition, iron-tipped lances and arrows

and knives, about 1728. A few years later the Blackfoot acquired horses from the Shoshone (p. 16). Competition for the Blackfoot trade arose between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company and ended in 1821 when both companies united under the name of the former (p. 21). "By 1830 the hey-day of the fur trade was over." American interests in the fur trade with the Blackfoot began in turbulence lasting up to 1831, which quieted down under the influence of Culbertson, despite the breaking out of small-pox (1837), and continued until the 1870's with but few hostilities (p. 26).

In a chapter on comparison of the fur trade with the Blackfoot in Canada and the United States, Dr. Lewis observes that the major part of the Canadian fur trade contact was characterized by an absence of conflict for sixty years before the first American trading post was built in their country, but that the tribe's relations with whites in the United States were marked by hostility and open conflict. The first Americans, by arming the tribal enemies of the Blackfoot and associating with them, came to be regarded as enemies or allies of enemies. More important in provoking hostility was the American policy of "sending white trappers into the Blackfoot country rather than depending upon the Indian supply." Resentment against this form of trespass resulted in attack. Dr. Lewis's comparisons of trading mores of Americans "who reflected the rugged individualism and lack of organization of the newly developing capitalist economy of which it was a part," and the "highly centralized and efficient organization of the Hudson's Bay Company" are not without their significance. The Canadians opened a trade in food supplies and horses with the Blackfoot, the Americans in buffalo robes (p. 29). The Canadians abolished the trading of liquor to the Blackfoot in 1821, the American trading posts when established in the Blackfoot country brought "the liquor trade on a large scale, with its usual disruptive and demoralizing influences." Thus the problems of adjustment were different on both sides of the international line and presented serious problems (p. 31). Another contrast in national policies, which the author traces to the fur trade, lies in the growth of a half-breed population among one of the three Blackfoot tribes (Piegan) on the American side, resulting in the infiltration of white values, whereas the other two (Blood and Siksika) remained independent up to the last (p. 33).

The effects of the fur trade upon the Blackfoot are treated under headings of Changes in

Material Culture (buffalo corrals, tipis, growth of polygyny, disuse of pottery, ceasing to raise tobacco and to make baskets, adoption of clothes of the whites), Marriage, Social Organization, The Blackfoot as Traders, Religion, Changes in Warfare, Motives (early and later). These are well developed sections, and provide solid matter for a wide range of sociological applications.

All told, an increase in wealth, following the lucrative trade opened up by white contacts, had a deep effect upon the later stages of Blackfoot culture. With the expansion of herding and polygyny, the late borrowing of age grades from the south, provided "an ideal mechanism for expressing and channelizing the vertical mobility which came with the *increase of wealth*" (p. 42). (Italics mine.) The wealth factor, Lewis points out, resulted in unusual shrewdness in trade, disregard of tradition, elevation of prices, traits "uniquely Blackfoot, and [which] must be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that they were subject to a competitive fur trade which made good businessmen of them" (p. 44). Changes in other social attitudes evolved. The capture of women as loot to be sold to traders (before 1830), economic motives in warfare gaining force as the religious motivation changed to commercial consideration, mass warfare giving place to raiding parties, changes in war equipment, increase in casualties, the loss of power of chiefs with increase of power of temporary leaders of small war parties, the prestige of wealth, are some of these changes. The role played by the horse in Blackfoot economy "became a major index of social status" (pp. 49-59).

Dr. Lewis has pondered well over his dissertation, both as to method and material utilized. The essay is a concisely and directly written piece of research in the progressive societal field of acculturation.

F. G. SPECK

University of Pennsylvania

Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community.

By KENNETH MACLEISH and KIMBALL YOUNG. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., Rural Life Studies: No. 3, 1942. Pp. 117.

Here is an example of a culture case study in which there is a happy blend of history, ethnology, economics, social psychology, and sociology, and from it one gets an understanding of the socio-economic processes that have been going along all these years in the temple hills of rural New England.

The community studied is Landaff, New Hampshire, and the study is one of the six-community series carried on by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare. It was presumed that in northern New England there was a rural culture that, having long been stable, would now be experiencing considerable maladjustment and disturbance due to agricultural, economic, and marketing changes of recent decades. This did not prove true, however, for here was found not stability overcome by rapid change, but adjustment and change all through the last half century; slow but sure, and slow enough today to prevent any pronounced instability and maladjustment. The study deals with such features of social organization as historical development of the community, relation of people to land, cultural background, commercialization on the self-sufficient economy, associational patterns and structures, leadership, value system with its sanctions and attitudes, and the integration and disintegration of community and individual life.

In general, the reviewer believes the conclusions are sound. It was found that the impact of government programs on this area is limited, and public relief policies do not accord with New England tradition. Organized conflict in Landaff is only slight, for the high place of individualism does not easily induce group antagonism. Opportunity for economic security and future improvement does induce individual mental conflict, however. There has been considerable community disintegration as evidenced by persistent economic limitations, decline of primary groups and institutions, and high outward migration of young people. There will, however, always be sufficient adjustment and stability to prevent any cultural upheaval, and in the meantime these hill towns will continue to send out their young people with the standards and heritage of old New England. Change will continue, however, and someday there will be no "stronghold of Yankee culture," but neither will there be a group of maladjusted, aimless people, the authors conclude.

The participant observer method was used and the study is very well written, but it is far too descriptive and impressionistic to be good scientific research, inasmuch as some objective statistical measurements might have been used to advantage, some typological cornerposts might have been constructed to use as benchmarks for restudy in later years, and, at the outset, it is lacking in explicit statement of the problem and conceptual methodology. It does, however, give a much clearer understanding

of what is going on in rural New England than a study of merely structure and statistics would, for an attempt has been made to get at inter-human behavior, meanings, and the functional relationships of a total cultural configuration, and to this extent the study represents a needed advance in rural sociological research.

E. J. NIEDERFRANK

University of Maine

The Social Economics of Agriculture. By WILSON GEE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. Pp. xii + 720. \$4.00.

Teachers of elementary orientation courses dealing with agricultural economics and rural life in universities, colleges, and junior colleges will welcome this revised edition of Gee's *Social Economics of Agriculture*, which comes off the press just ten years after its very good predecessor. The earlier edition was popular enough; the new edition follows the same general outline and treatment, but is thoroughly rewritten and brought up to date.

This is an elementary textbook for orientation courses, and treats the usual topics in the usual way. About two-thirds of the book deals with subjects of agricultural economics such as the present condition of farmers, farm-relief measures, farm management, land tenure and utilization, farm labor, finance and insurance, price determination and monopolies, marketing and co-operative marketing. There is a special section on the farmer and his government which deals with the tariff and agriculture, taxation, and problems of local government. The book opens with a couple of chapters which present a brief economic history of agricultural development in the United States since Colonial days and compares it with agriculture of the Old World. The other third of the book treats of such subjects as population trends, standard of living, rural health and public welfare, the small town, community organization, the farm family, rural church, and the rural school.

Social Economics of Agriculture is a survey, a synthesis, a summary of each topic discussed; it does not expound any particular theory or point of view; the author has nothing to put over except general enlightenment and information for beginning students and the general public. He refuses to defend or support strongly any particular theme or issue, but in dealing with many topics such as the tariff, taxes, farm relief, or the school, for example, he recognizes the need for change and successfully makes the break from the classical, *laissez-faire* view.

The book is highly teachable, being well con-

structured as to topical headings, very readable, and each chapter is followed by a few up-to-date reference readings and a good set of discussion questions based on the text. It is useful as an elementary source book, covering the economics and sociology of agriculture, and the relations of farm and urban interests. Treatment of controversial subjects such as the tariff, taxation, rural school reform, the AAA and the like, are very fair; all sides are briefly summarized.

If there are any criticisms which this reviewer would make, keeping in mind the purpose of the book, they are that in the first place the book tries to cover so much that it must necessarily be done only in summarial fashion. In the second place, these summaries of topics are not clearly woven together by any central viewpoint or conceptual thread running through the book. This is unfortunate, for one of the greatest responsibilities of educators today is to relate relevant bits into a whole and present material in terms of a central viewpoint or frame of reference. The book offered a grand opportunity for this, for there is an especial need of bringing together the economic and sociological aspects of rural life within agriculture itself and for relating these to the rest of the socio-economy, both theoretical and practical. However, this and other minor shortcomings of the book might well serve as challenges to teachers to make their own contributions to their own courses.

E. J. NIEDERFRANK

University of Maine

New York Plans for the Future. By CLEVELAND RODGERS. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943. Pp. xvi + 293. \$3.00.

Can Our Cities Survive? By JOSE LUIS SERT. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. xi + 259. \$5.00.

Cleveland Rodgers in *New York Plans for the Future* presents in a most intriguing fashion New York brought up to the present moment. He paints an all-inclusive picture of New Yorkers, how they make a living, and how they govern themselves. He traces the development of the use of land, the political forces, taxation, transportation, and other factors from earliest times to the present.

The second part is devoted to planning for a better city in the future. Specific problems which need to be dealt with are described and some of the ways with which they may be solved are indicated. The importance of maintaining population is especially well presented in the

chapter "Babies and Real Estate Values."

The reader is impressed with the author's sound understanding of the effect of the development of the city upon its present condition, the frailty of human nature, and the interests that human beings have had in the past and have in the present time. He gives great hope for the improvement of conditions even with people as they are, with politicians, the pressure groups, and private enterprise. It is not only interesting reading but is stimulating to anyone concerned with big city problems or with the betterment of conditions within his own community. It is well illustrated with photographs.

In *Can Our Cities Survive?* Sert develops in great detail each of the items enumerated by the Town Planning Chart, which is really the description of town planning in its various aspects, adopted by the Fourth C.I.A.M. Congress held in Athens in 1933. The author discusses the planning of the community from four angles—the dwelling (home life), work (production), recreation, and transportation.

The volume is profusely illustrated with photographs, charts, and sketches relating to a large number of cities throughout the world. The conditions described, for the most part, are the unfortunate conditions of the community. It appears at times as if there were nothing good, nothing right, in the way large cities have developed and to correct the errors of the past, entire rebuilding is indicated.

Although evidently intended primarily for architects and town planners, it should also be stimulating to the urban sociologist.

HOWARD WHIPPLE GREEN

Cleveland, Ohio

The Rorschach Technique. By BRUNO KLOPFER and DOUGLAS MCGLASHAN KELLEY. New York: World Book Company, 1942. Pp. x + 436.

It is always interesting to follow the development of a new method or technique in science. There will appear first in some technical journal a pioneer article, experimental paper, or report. This will be ignored or severely criticized by established writers in allied fields whose province may be encroached upon by the new upstart. Then there will follow a period of years in which, if the method is of intrinsic value, a flow of further papers from other authors will establish the validity of the concepts or techniques, until all of a sudden the suspect will be found to have taken its place among the orthodox and accepted procedures.

By this time the layman has got some inkling

of the idea, popular magazines have begun to make references to it, even fiction may include apparently knowledgeable statements concerning it. Its terminology becomes common usage, and the vogue has become established.

Psychoanalysis, behaviorism, gestalt psychology, electroencephalography with its "brain waves," are but a few examples from the field of psychology, of techniques which have reached the stage of household words.

The Rorschach method (a test of personality based on the individual's spontaneous responses to ten standardized inkblot pictures) is just emerging into that period where the public takes notice of its existence. Twenty years of steady growth in the psychological periodicals has followed Rorschach's original presentation in 1921. It is particularly fortunate therefore that there coincides with this excursion into the limelight a reliable and authentic textbook to which the enthusiastic would-be learner can turn, after his first contacts with the method through popular or pseudoscientific channels.

The Rorschach Technique by Bruno Klopfer (Parts I, II, III) and Douglas Kelley (Part IV) is described by the senior author as follows "This book attempts for the first time to present the accumulated experience of twenty years of application (of the method) in terms of a technical description of the problems the beginner will encounter in his attempt to administer, score, and interpret a Rorschach record. While this book is hardly sufficient as a basis for self training it is hoped that it will be of considerable help when used in conjunction with other training facilities." This is a modest statement, and the book more than measures up to the authors' hopes.

Part I deals with the historical background of this apparently unbelievably simple procedure. Kerner in 1837, Binet in 1895, and Whipple in 1910, all saw possibilities in the use of some sort of inkblot technique for deriving information about the personality of the observer, and thus antedated Rorschach himself. To Rorschach, a Swiss psychiatrist, however, goes the full credit for realizing the all-important fact that it was by no means only the content, or "what" is seen in these inkblot pictures, that is significant, but rather "how" the image is seen, and "where" on the blot it is located. The Rorschach *technique* therefore turns on the understanding, recording, and evaluating of the various perceptual components involved.

Part II of the book is concerned with the

technical aspects of the test which are intricate and detailed. Like the grammar of a foreign language, the scoring system must be thoroughly mastered before it can be advantageously used as a tool. Such a scoring system, while it may for a time make the learner lose sight of the wood for the trees, is important in that it makes the interpretation of a record objective, uniform, and reliable.

To this scoring system of Rorschach's, Klopfer, both as author and teacher, has done much, not only to sharpen and refine it as a tool, but to make it understandable and significant to the bewildered beginner.

Part III deals with the interpretation of the scored record; that is, having discovered that there are certain psychological ingredients in an individual's mental make up, and having established the interrelationship of these various component parts, we must know what such a distribution of psychological energies means in terms of behavior. Klopfer's wide experience has enabled him to give to this phase much that is essential to the beginner, and of value to the expert.

Part IV (Douglas Kelley) is an able presentation of the use made of the Rorschach method in clinical situations. In particular, the characteristic personality patterns of the patient with organic cerebral pathology, the schizophrenic, the psychoneurotic, the mentally deficient, the epileptic and the depressive states are considered. This section is obviously not intended to bring the completely uninitiated reader to the point where he can make a differential diagnosis between the patient with a brain tumor and the hysteric! It will be of great interest, however, to the clinical psychologist, and to the physician who has perhaps referred such patients for a Rorschach test, but whose knowledge of the actual characteristics of the personality, as revealed in the test, is scant. The psychiatric social worker, who may have felt the need for some objective method of estimating personality, will be amply rewarded by a study of the type of clinical problems which come within the scope of the test.

All in all, the book is an important landmark in the development of a method of personality analysis which is showing that it has a vitally important contribution to make at the present time.

M. R. HARROWER-ERICKSON

Wisconsin General Hospital

BOOKNOTES

The Rural-Urban Fringe. Proceedings of the Commonwealth Conference, University of Oregon, April 16-17, 1942. Eugene: University of Oregon, 1942. Pp. iv + 80. 75 cents.

The 80-page pamphlet embodying the proceedings of the Commonwealth Conference, University of Oregon, April 16-17, 1942, contains nine papers dealing with the rural-urban fringe. Four are by members of the faculty; three by public officials and members of local civic agencies; and two by George S. Wehrwein of the University of Wisconsin, a pioneer in the study of the problems arising in those areas in which there has long been an uncontrolled conflict between urban and rural land uses.

Wehrwein's opening paper sets the problem in proper perspective against a background of European and American thought and experience. Six of the papers contributed by local men present the results of detailed and well-integrated studies of selected aspects of rural-urban problems in the vicinity of Eugene, Oregon. Another paper attacks the special and more temporary problems of areas in the vicinity of army encampments. A second paper by Wehrwein throws light on the manner in which several metropolitan districts have endeavored to solve their problems in this field; Boston, for example, by the creation of an over-all *ad hoc* district with a broad array of powers; Madison, Wisconsin, by resort to a unique county-wide zoning ordinance designed to provide stabilizing controls for all types of land use, ranging from the most intensive uses at the heart of the city, to the least intensive uses in the cut-over forest areas in the outer reaches of the county.

The symposium is a distinct and well-rounded contribution to American thinking on the subject. It demonstrates clearly that fringe problems occur not only around our largest cities, but also around those which are not yet bedeviled by problems of sheer size; it reveals ingenuity in developing techniques which can be applied to similar studies elsewhere; and it sets up guide-posts for those who would find their way toward solutions. The University of Oregon is to be congratulated on its achievement.

Democracy by Discussion. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. Foreword by CHESTER WILLIAMS. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. viii + 58. \$1.00.

Advantages, disadvantages, and techniques of the forum, panel, roundtable, listening, informal, reading circle, correspondence circle, advanced, and advisory types of discussion groups are presented briefly. The origin, values, and organization of discussion groups are discussed. A vivid description of the inception and development of a discussion group is given. An advisory group in action is

described. A brief bibliography (which omits the very valuable papers of the old "Group Inquiry" organization) and an index completes a clear and concise outline of these techniques which are increasingly important in a democratic culture largely depersonalized by spatial mobility and mechanical communication.

The United Nations: What They Are and What They May Become. By HENRI BONNET. Chicago: World Citizens Association, 1942. Pp. vii + 100. \$0.25.

The United Nations on the Way. By HENRI BONNET. Chicago: World Citizens Association, 1942. Pp. ix + 170. \$0.50.

The first essay discusses the present and possible future collaboration between the United Nations. The general conclusion is that little will be gained by beating the Axis if the United States refuses to co-operate in postwar world organization.

The second essay describes the agreements on objectives (to the end of 1942) of the United Nations and states some of the differences still unresolved. Emphasizes the necessity for a continued postwar organization of the United Nations, political, economic, and military.

Thoughts of a Psychiatrist on the War and After. By WILLIAM ALANSON WHITE. New York: Paul B. Hoerber, 1919. Reprinted by The William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, Inc., 1942. Pp. v + 28.

In this series of eight articles, first appearing as editorials in the journal *Psychiatry*, the author attempts to derive the essential conditions for a lasting peace through a modified psychoanalytic interpretation of the phenomenon of war. Following an introductory summary of individual and group development, war is analyzed in terms of repressions and the love-hate struggle, with peace to be secured through balance and sublimation of these tendencies. Overlooking outmoded terminology and dependence on a dubious organism-society analogy, this volume could easily have been written during the present war.

Manpower, A Summary of the British Experience. By ERIC H. BIDDLE. Public Administration Service, No. 84, Chicago, 1942. Pp. vii + 28. \$75.

Mr. Biddle explains the administrative machinery which enabled the British to stretch their slender manpower resources to meet the demands of total war: a valuable analysis for all Americans.

Education in Wartime. By PORTER SARGENT. Boston: Porter Sargent, 11 Beacon Street, 1942. Pp. 224. Price not stated.

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The introductory remarks and comments on the various sections of the author's *Handbook of Private Schools* (26th edition). Mr. Sargent deals briefly with almost everything touching on education in wartime with many incisive reflections on the quoted and cited opinions of physical, biological, and social scientists, educators, publicists, statesmen, and even literary men. He has a critical, dauntless, youthful mind. School teachers at all levels should be stimulated and inspired by these sharp thumbnail sketches of the impact of the war on education.

Organized Anti-Semitism in America: The Rise of Group Prejudice during the Decade 1930-40. By DONALD S. STRONG. Introduction by CLYDE R. MILLER. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. Pp. v + 191. Price not stated.

Sociologists will be interested in this factual survey of the activities of 121 anti-Semitic organizations with a detailed account of the eight most important ones. Strong concludes there is little likelihood of a fusion of these organizations; many of them are merely petty rackets and the others are led by incompetent but sincere crackpots; they were largely a depression phenomenon—"many of them consist merely of a fanatic and a letterhead" (p. 179). It is probable that Strong does not mean to imply that anti-Semitism will soon disappear but rather that it is not likely to produce any large concerted organized movement in the United States unless conditions change here in the direction he has indicated as being necessary for such a development.

China's Gift to the West. By DERK BODDE. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942. Pp. vi + 40. Price not stated.

This is the first of the Council's projected pamphlets to aid Americans to understand Asiatic cultures. Primarily for high school readers but will interest and inform many adults. A chronological chart shows the lag in the appearance of certain artifacts in China and Europe.

National Consciousness. By WALTER SULZBACH. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943. Pp. xi + 168. \$3.00 cloth; \$2.50 paper.

This well-documented essay argues its thesis to a

frazzle but it is coals to Newcastle for anyone who has studied elementary sociology. The author rejects "instinct" as an explanation but relies strongly on "the fighting impulse," the "emotions" (as if they were entities), and "incomprehensible, irrational, and imponderable factors" (p. 135). Nationalism is presented as a substitutive reaction to our loss of religion, and hence is recent and probably not very permanent. His conclusion is possibly correct but his method of arriving at it is oversimplistic. He underemphasized the role of profit seeking in the development and continuation of imperialistic national consciousness though he rightly rejects the Marxian theory as sole factor.

Marriage and Family in Mysore. By M. N. SRINIVAS. Bombay: New Book Company, 1942. Pp. vii + 219. Rs. 7-8.

A folklorish, cultural-anthropological study of marriage and family customs. It is called "sociology" by its sponsors although it consists almost entirely of statements about the curious customs and ideas of the Kannada-speaking castes. A large part of the material is from informants, or hearsay, and from literary sources.

Reorganization of Public Welfare in Michigan: A Study of the Transformation of a Social Institution. By ERNEST B. HARPER and DUANE L. GIBSON. East Lansing, Michigan: Mich. Agri. Exp. Sta. Bul. 318, June 1942. Pp. 80. Price not stated.

This careful historical-statistical study of the administration of relief in Michigan, 1929-39, is based on over 2000 interviews (by schedules) in six selected counties. Five sociological generalizations relevant to institutional growth are tentatively stated and three practical applications of the analysis are made. All the schedules used and the data tables are appended. Both social workers and sociologists will be interested.

Outlay and Income in the United States, 1921-1938. By HAROLD BARGER. Volume IV of Studies in Income and Wealth by the National Bureau of Economic Research. New York, 1942. Pp. 391. \$2.50.

A statement of national income, consumption, and capital formation data on a quarterly basis to make them useful for business cycle analysis.